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# THE QUARTERLY

OF THE

# TEXAS STATE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

## VOLUME III.

JULY, 1899, TO APRIL, 1900.

### PUBLICATION COMMITTEE.

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# The Texas State Historical Association.

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# THE QUARTERLY

OF THE

TEXAS STATE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Vol. III.

JULY, 1899.

No. 1.

*The publication committee and the editors disclaim responsibility for views expressed by contributors to THE QUARTERLY.*

THE ADVENTURES OF THE "LIVELY" IMMIGRANTS.

— LEWIS.

[This narrative follows substantially a MS. in the collection of Colonel Guy M. Bryan, who has kindly permitted its publication in THE QUARTERLY. He recites the history of the MS. briefly as follows:

"Some years ago, when I resided in Galveston, Colonel Lowe, of the Galveston News, informed me that he had received a letter from a Mr. Lewis, of Louisiana, making inquiry about some of the earliest settlers of Austin's first colony, and that he wished I would write him. He said he was a man of good character and his family was highly respectable. In this way I became acquainted with Mr. Lewis. When I ascertained from him that he was on the Lively I requested him to write an account of his adventures on the Lively and in Texas, which he did. He requested me to return the original manuscript, which I did, but retained a copy of it."

The whereabouts of the original MS. can not be stated here, but it is believed to be in possession of the relatives of Mr. Lewis.

In preparing the copy for publication much more liberty has been taken with it than if it had been the original. Some changes have been made in the phraseology, and at one or two points where the story is somewhat confused a degree of interpretation has been considered necessary in order to clear it up. On the whole, however, the sense, and even the wording of the copy has been closely followed.

It should be stated that Colonel Bryan says he compared the copy with the original and is sure that it is a faithful reproduction.

The story concerning the Lively that is to be found in works on Texas history, and has been generally believed, is that the vessel was lost at sea.

The facts in the case are at least partially disclosed by Mr. Lewis's account.

The initials of Mr. Lewis do not appear on the copy, nor have I been able to learn them.

The narrative is to be concluded in the next number.—EDITOR QUARTERLY.]

I have here set down a portion of my peregrinations and the incidents of an eventful life, which at one time led me to become one of Col. S. F. Austin's recruits to colonize a portion of Texas, as early as the year 1821. A thoroughly detailed account of my adventure and return to the then United States will be found in the following pages.

I feel it right and incumbent upon me to allude to my parentage and my antecedents in early life. My father was an Irishman of education. He arrived in time to participate in the war of '76, and was contemporary with Boone on his second trip from North Carolina to the wilds of the "Bloody ground" in Kentucky. The termination of the war left him, as it had done with thousands of others, poor and destitute, with quite a large family to support; he therefore opened a school of learning in one of the northwestern counties. It was well patronized, for schools and learning in that quarter had been long neglected. Many grown up boys and girls and young men were nearly beginners in the lower and ordinary branches, such as spelling and reading and writing. My first recollections are at some four or five years old, with Webster's spelling book in my hand, on a bench with some ten or more in a like occupation.

Some time after this my father was induced to move further southwest into Christian county, where he again opened a seminary. It was soon filled to overflowing. I had by this time grown to 10 or 11 years of age and my improvement was far beyond my years. I became quite an assistant to him in his daily labors in taking charge of the less advanced pupils, at the same time advancing myself by continued repetitions of the lessons of each pupil, there generally being twenty or twenty-five that had the same lesson.

Our locality there was known as "The Barrens," a kind of half prairie, but nearly as wild and unsettled as the most parts of Texas from 1824 to 1830. The growth of population in the upper portion of the State and along the Cumberland and tributaries had the



effect of driving the wild beasts and game to this section, where they were less hunted and molested, and of course were plenty. Here a field was opened to me. I soon became expert with the Rifle, having to assist in attending to and collecting, driving, and herding our stock. Deer and turkeys were plenty, with a great deal of smaller game. Our enemies were the panther, the wolf, the black bear and others of the feline and carnivorous tribe. When not at school, I was, with rifle in hand, in the woods. My expertness with the rifle and my extended knowledge of the surrounding country for fifteen or twenty miles, made it an object, when an expedition was on foot to camp out and hunt, to have me and my two well taught dogs along. Here, as well as at school, I was said to be very precocious, and to carry "an old head on young shoulders."

Up to the time that I was seventeen or eighteen years of age, I had not been absent from the Academy longer than a week or so at a time, and my duties were in general the same as at the outset, except that I had advanced further in orthography, reading, writing, arithmetic, and geometry. I mentioned in the beginning of this that many young ladies as well as grown up gentlemen were attending this school for the sake of review. My father was well versed in mathematics and was a superior geometrician, and his knowledge of the science brought a number of young men to get an insight into this particular branch. His manner of teaching was by actual demonstration, with chain, compass, and plotting instruments. After learning from the authors how to proceed, the students would start out to run off a tract of some twenty or more acres, and then return, plat the survey, and give the area. It was here my duty, as it had been five or six years ago with the beginners, to hear and oversee their lessons. I now, for more than three years, generally went out with these beginners in surveying, to give them a proper start and correct any error in running the lines. This continued repetition made me master of the simple science of surveying.

About this time, two gentlemen, land speculators, a Mr. Joshua Cates and Mr. Davis, came to see my father. Their business was to get him to run out a tract of 2300 acres of land which they had bought jointly. They wished it divided between them, as near equally as could be, running a nearly north and south line. My father promptly told them that he could not think of dismissing

his school, that it would take perhaps six or eight days, which would produce much dissatisfaction among his patrons. They then enquired if he knew any one who would or could do it. After a little reflection, he replied that he had a young gentleman with him who had just about got through studying surveying, and that he could do the work if he would. He, a Mr. Cartwright, was sent for, and the proposition made to him. He replied to my father, "I will undertake it, provided you will let your son Willie assist me." It was evident, that they were a little skeptical, and they asked my father if he was willing to guarantee the completion and correctness of the survey. He answered that he was. Mr. Cartwright said there was only one obstacle in the way, i. e., the want of a compass. I then remarked that we had a surplus chain, and that I knew where I could borrow a compass for the work. So it was so settled, with the understanding that they were to be informed through "Uncle Bob Patterson," an old merchant of Hopkinsville, when the survey and maps would be ready. I was to meet Mr. Cartwright at a house near the beginning corner. The gentlemen of the house knew the corner tree. We hired his son and another young man to carry the chain. The surveyor's lines were quite plain, being only two years old.

Mr. Cartwright met me early Monday morning. We made a commencement and ran about half a mile, when a negro boy drove up in a gig, and handed Mr. Cartwright a note, the purport of which was that he was sent for to go home, his mother having been taken very ill. As his road led him no great distance from the Academy, I sent a note to my father, and stated to him I was confident I could run the lines and make out the field notes and should do so as long as I was on the ground. He had previously instructed me to mark out on the lines all ravines, high hills, or mounds, etc., for fear of mistakes. I frequently re-ran and measured over several lines. Thursday I finished in time to return to the Academy, a distance of some seven miles.

That evening and part of Friday, I finished a rough sketch of the survey to ascertain if the lines would properly meet, and my father fixed a starting point on an east line to make the division. On Saturday he went with me, and we marked it out almost north and south, giving each half nearly 1150 acres. We now had to go fifteen miles to our own home.

My father went to work Monday, and in two days we had finished

the two maps. Monday evening he wrote to Mr. Patterson that the survey had been made, and that if they were not sent for before the last of the week, they would be sent to Mr. Patterson's store. Thursday, I went to town and took them with me. I accidentally met Mr. Cates riding out. I halted him and pulled out my maps. They were hardly colored and delineated. He was quite pleased and expressed regret that he was not in town. He asked me what was my charge. I told him I was ordered to make no charge. He then asked me where the young man was that did the work. I told him what had occurred. Then with a little surprise he asked me who helped me. I told him that my father had helped me make the maps, and that I had done all the rest. He then asked me when I would be at home. He said he knew where our residence was, that it was "near the Sulphur spring meeting house." I now took the stage here and went home, it being only half the distance back to the Academy.

I, of course, went rifle in hand to the woods, both Friday and Saturday. Finding the last day a gang of turkeys, I got one and made my way back home. When I reached the yard gate, my little sister came running to me and said I could not guess what had come for me from town. I found in the house a handsome cherry box of some thirty inches long, fourteen or fifteen inches wide, and six or eight deep, with a key tied on one of the handles. Upon examination I found a letter containing a \$50 note on the Bank of Kentucky, and a beautiful new Moorehouse surveying compass, with all the necessary appurtenances and instruments for drawing and plotting. I have been thus more specific in detail than might have been necessary in the foregoing episode. The essence of the whole matter lies in the manner, mode and time of my becoming owner of this surveyor's compass and instruments, which were the means of my shipping on the "Lively" and of my adventures in Texas, as the sequel will show.

When I left my Kentucky home, I went in search of a brother living somewhere in the "Notchy Country" as all that country lying south of the Tennessee was at that time called. I engaged as a hand on a flat boat to go to New Orleans with a Captain McDonald and his partner, a Mr. Crumbaugh. I had an old Dutch iron-bound trunk, which was sufficiently capacious for what effects I owned in the way of clothing. I placed my box of instruments also in it. In

due time I found my brother, with whom I lived for three years. Finally I took a place on the steamer "Natchez" as clerk.

When I left the store of my brother I left my Dutch iron-bound trunk containing the instruments in the attic of the store, where they remained undisturbed, except in one instance, during my absence. They were on one occasion lent to a surveyor who was a friend of my brother's, and who offered me nearly double the worth of them. I peremptorily refused. He and my brother asked me why I did not sell them, saying they were of no service to me. I said I could not give any substantial reason, but something told me that they had not fulfilled their mission.

Some time early in 1821, I became clerk of the new steamer "Natchez," Captain Buckner, single engine, as all boats were then built. We were lying at the wharf at Natchez, and had just finished the evening previous discharging her up freight. We had, when I first went on the Natchez a mate, every way a good one, except that he would get drunk at times. He and the Captain came to loggerheads in New Orleans, which caused his dismissal, and I was instructed to hunt up some one to fill his place. I had spent several trips on a fishing excursion across the lake with a Lieutenant Butler and his companions McDonald and "Jimmy." They had served together on the Lakes with Commodore Perry. They were then on some other boat. I became much attached to Lieutenant Butler and it struck me to give him the berth, so I hunted him up and employed him and Jimmy to go on the Natchez.

I had a few weeks previous sent for my box and trunk to be left with Crane & Hudson, then doing a large grocer's business at Bayou Sara. Coming up this trip, I received on board the trunk and box and set them out of the way in the cabin. In the early morning, not being troubled with any passengers on board, I concluded to overhaul my trunk and instruments. I had for the sake of light got near the door and had opened my box and filled a chair or two with the compass and other things connected with it. I was so intent on examining them that I had not observed the near approach of three gentlemen. The door on the opposite side of the entrance to the cabin was closed. One of the gentlemen asked if the Captain was on board. I replied that he had spent the night up in town. He said he wished to go to New Orleans and asked at what time the boat would leave. These inquiries were answered. Then they asked if they could see the clerk. I replied that I filled

that office and opened the door and pointed to the Register. Only two went into the office; the other, the smallest of the three, was left examining my compass and instruments. I returned immediately to replace them, when he eyed me from feet to head and asked me if they were mine, and if I used them. I told him, in answer to the first enquiry, they were, and that I had no use for them on the steamer. He smiled one of his gracious smiles and said he meant to ask if I understood their use. I replied that I had acquired that information. I could not keep from showing my pride, and told him that I had won them five years ago for my expertness in the science of surveying.

One of the three, for they all had entered the cabin, said something about going up to town. I replied that our breakfast would be ready in a few minutes, after which they could go up in one of the conveyances that plied up and down for the benefit of passengers. After breakfast I went into the office to see the names of my passengers and where they were from. The latter I did not learn, as I saw only that they had crossed from what is now Vidalia. The three sauntered about over the boat and eventually located themselves on the south side of the office, as much to be in the sun as to be shielded from a cold north wind, for it was now the last of September, or the first of October. On the side where they were, my window sash was up, but the slatted blinds were closed. I was busily engaged about my freight and papers and was attracted by a remark from one of them, perhaps in a little more distinct and louder tone than the rest of the conversation. I heard him say "He is a fine scribe," when a second said, "He has the confidence of the captain to be left here in charge of the boat and perhaps all other times." Here *I was ears and mouth open* to divine what was on the tapis, so far as I was concerned. "Well," one now spoke whom I had not noticed as speaking before, "I should like the best of all my immigrants to have him go with me." He went on to say to one of them, "Can't you pump him and learn his feelings on the subject?"

It was now getting toward 12 o'clock, and the three had gone ashore, and at the same time an omnibus came down and the three along with others went up town. A little time previous, however, one of the three came into the office. He was the "proxy," a long, tall "I guess and avow, etc.," a Yankee of the simon-pure school. I was at once disgusted. He took a seat on an empty stool and began twisting and wriggling about, and said at length, "You have

heard about the grant of land in Texas?" "Some little," I said. "I am not the least interested in the matter. Let me ask you if one of the other two is the man that has the claim." "The small gentleman," he answered, "is Col. S. F. Austin." "You are Mr. Little?" "Yes, sir." He was on the eve of propounding another question, when I interposed and said to him, "I am at present very busy, but at his convenience should be pleased to talk a little to Colonel Austin." With that I turned to my papers, and he withdrew.

A short time after this they went up to town, and in a few minutes the Captain and three or four "young bloods" came in. They went directly to the after, or ladies' cabin. In a little while the Captain inquired for the bar keeper. I said he had gone to replenish his bar, but that I had the key. The Captain wanted cards and checks, I suppose for bragg, or euchre, or some other short card game. While I was in the bar the Captain had turned to the Register, and immediately bawled out at the top of his voice, "Whoop! hurra! hello there, come here boys, come quick!" They asked what it was. "Look," said he, pointing to the name, "We have as passenger to the city the Emperor of Texas." Turning to me he asked what kind of a looking man he was. I said that he was one of the most retiring, quiet gentlemen one would meet in a month, a small, quite handsome gentleman.

The following morning, immediately after breakfast, I was standing in the office door as they came from the table, and through the cabin door I caught Colonel Austin's eye. He advanced direct to me. I gave back a little and he walked in. I closed the door and pointed him to a seat. He first remarked that Mr. Little had informed him of my wish to converse with him. I assented to his remark by a nod. "Your object is in relation to my colony?" was his inquiry. "It is," I said. "I shall be pleased," said he, "to render you any information I can on the subject." I thanked him, and continued, "I have an apology to offer for a breach as an eaves-dropper. I was here in my office at work, while you three were out there. You had been some time in conversation, of the subject of which I knew nothing, when an allusion was made, as I thought to myself. The conversation ended, as I thought, with a wish that I would join you." He gave me another of those pleasant approving smiles, that were so natural for him, and said the fault was theirs and not mine. "May I ask," he inquired, "what conclusion you have come to?" I told him that to the time of hearing the

conversation through the window, I had no thought of going. I remarked that I had no trade except my pen, and the knowledge of figures, and that an unsettled and almost uncivilized country offered but little opportunity to make a living to one in my condition. He was sitting near my desk, on which lay open my freight book. He got up and asked me if that was my writing. I nodded my assent, and he again took his seat and remarked that he stood in need of my services in his anticipated office, that he would have a great deal to do with pen, ink, figures, and paper. "If you are willing to trust me," said he, "you can depend on my liberality. I have seen enough today to trust you to do what you promise. I shall exact nothing that will ever make you regret the step you may take in going with me. You may expect to occupy a place as one of my family." I then enquired his program. He said, I am on my way to the city to procure a small vessel with an outfit to transport some twenty or twenty-five passengers, together with utensils and provisions and to make a second and if necessary a third and fourth trip for the Colonists. I remarked that I would give him an answer tomorrow, or at least before we should reach the city. I should have to make some arrangements if I went, that I was doubtful if I could consummate. I told him that, outside of them, I thought I had made up my mind to go with him.

The following day in the evening, I found him on the forecastle of the boat. He asked me if I had thought of his proposition. I replied I had, but the difficulty alluded to yesterday was still an impediment. "Well," said he, "perhaps I may help to remove it." I told him plainly, that I, like almost all young clerks, generally lived up to my pay, that I was then in no condition to purchase an outfit. "What kind of outfit," asked he, "do you allude to?" I answered, "a suit or two of such material as would suit the occasion." "And what else?" said he, "or how much cash will be sufficient?" I reflected a moment or two and replied that outside of a good rifle and fixtures with what I had, I could get along with \$40 or \$50. He asked if this was the impediment. I told him it was a big one to me just then. He said that all that should be arranged. Then he continued, "You speak of a good rifle; are you a good shot? One would not take you for a marksman." I replied that I was a Kentuckian, and was almost born with a rifle in hand. He then requested that I should hunt him up in the city and further complete our understanding. I replied that I might be a day

or two detained on the boat to turn over my papers, money, and accounts. He remarked that his time was limited, that as soon as a suitable vessel could be got he should make the trip by way of Natchitoches to join a party of some forty or fifty on their way out to Texas, and that he hoped to meet the vessel when she should arrive.

I did not succeed at as early a day as I had contemplated in getting things straightened out on the Natchez, but the second evening after we got to New Orleans, seeing the announcement in the papers of their arrival at Kelso & Richardson's Hotel, I went to see them and told them I would join them in the next twenty-four or thirty-six hours. Colonel Austin brought out a rifle, Western made, and said to be steel-barreled. It was made for one of the Messrs. Hawkins, who had gone to Natchitoches to pilot some of the immigrants to that place. I was asked if the rifle would fill the bill, though the molds, wipers, etc., were missing. I answered that I was gratified at so handsome a present, and added that I would have no difficulty in supplying the missing implements for the rifle. They said that they would start in a day or two to hunt out a suitable craft for the expedition. I then said that I had almost at my command a clever gentleman, a thoroughly educated seaman, whom I thought might be induced to go with them and assist in the selection and who perhaps might be induced to make the trip to Texas. I told them he was with Decatur and Perry on the Lakes in 1812. I was requested to use my endeavors to bring him with me, to see them.

Now I took that night with me to the Natchez my fine gift. My next trip was to see Captain Butler, mate of the Natchez, and acquaint him with my resolution of going to assist in forming a colony in Texas. He said he had heard a good deal about this thing since the boat had got in. I said to him that I wished him to go if I went, and "Jimmy" also; that Colonel Austin and the men with him were going in a day or two to hunt out a vessel and that I had recommended him as a suitable person to assist them; and, further, that I thought a door was opened to him to be first or second in command if it should be agreeable to him. "I will," said he, "go in the evening if you can spare time and see this Colonel Austin." I was waiting on the consignees of the boat to report on my balance sheet and urged the captain of the boat to call and see if all was right. He replied that they had been to the boat and left



word for me to call and see them. Messrs. Wilkins & Linton, the consignees, were satisfied that my "turn over" was right, and they did not want me to quit. They offered to advance my wages to \$100 per month, and said they had sent a note to Kelso & Richardson to that effect. I said that my engagement was such that I could not violate it to go back on the boat.

My account gave me a small balance of some \$18 or \$20. Captain Buckner made the amount \$50. The next thing I did was to hunt up a Mr. Peter Nichols. This man was a "nonesuch," as we call them. He was a mechanical genius, a "jack of all trades," but claimed to be a gun and lock smith. He had been with Lewis and Clark up the Missouri and its tributaries as gun-smith to the expedition. This man had been sick at my store with fever. My attention and kindness had laid him under a small obligation, which he often expressed. I found him at Brown & Lee's Publishing House on Common St., in a large old frame building. I informed him of my intended trip and asked him if he would oversee making me the necessary outfit for twelve months' travel in the Texas country and what would be the probable cost. He said that one thing, and perhaps the most costly and essential, was a good rifle. I replied that I had that as a present and wished him to inspect and pass judgment on it. I told him it was with my "traps" on the Natchez. He told me to bring it with me, and he would figure out the probable cost of the balance. I said to him that I wished the outfit made as though for himself. In the evening I took my rifle, Butler going along with me, by Mr. Nichols' room. He took the gun and examined it externally and said it had been made by a workman. He could not say anything more about it until he took it to pieces. As to the other things, it might take \$30 or perhaps \$40 to buy them. I handed him \$50.

We, Captain Butler and I, went to see Colonel Austin and the party. He, Butler, was employed to assist in looking up a suitable vessel to take charge of the outfit for the trip and was to employ assistance if necessary. The agent of the expedition was an elderly man, a sort of iron monger. He was known as Captain Rinker. I think he became purchaser of the vessel or responsible for any balance due on her purchase. When Colonel Austin left in company with Mr. Hawkins via the land route, this Captain Rinker was cashier for the outfit and the necessary provisions by virtue of which fact he claimed the right of naming her captain—a most

unfortunate circumstance for the expedition and particularly for the poor devils of immigrants.

In the next four or five days they found the Lively, which was purchased and brought up Bayou St. Johns for overhauling. Captain Butler employed his old friend, Hugh McDonald, a fine Scotch sailor, and Jimmy, the little English sailor boy. Old Captain Rinker put on board an "old salt," a negro, as cook. And a good one he was, besides every inch a sailor. I had my hands full as laggard and errand boy, to purchase and send the bills for payment to Captain Rinker. Colonel Austin had promised at the time of his engaging with Lieutenant Butler to give him charge of the vessel, provided Captain Cannon, who was then on his way in charge of a brig from Providence, R. I., did not arrive in time. At any rate, Lieutenant Butler was to be second in charge of the Lively. We worked diligently in the outfit, for many spars and sails were necessary, and much of the ratting had to be supplied.

About this time my friend Mr. Nichols came to the vessel with a box some  $3\frac{1}{2}$  feet long, half as wide, and 10 or 12 inches deep. Getting out of the omnibus, he held it up to me and said, "Here it is, all in fine order with some powder and balls, but look out that she doesn't tell on you about your being a marksman." It was a very fine looking rifle. When he took it, it was bright barreled, but it had now a dark blue barrel, and all the bright work about it was darkened. He said nothing tended quicker than a shining thing to attract attention and frighten game. Then followed a trial in shooting. I prepared a blackboard and placed on it a white piece of paper just the size of a dollar, fixed a rest at forty yards distance and seating myself on the ground I fired and placed the ball an inch below the paper. Mr. Nichols told me I had drawn too fine a sight. The second shot was just even with the center, in the edge of the paper to the right. The third was in the top of the paper, and the fourth and fifth were like shots, none as near as the third. Mr. Nichols said they would pass. The gun would lie very snugly in the box after unbreeching it, the moulds and two pairs of wipers, a small flat fine file, two handsaw files, and two callipers and a hammer, all being made fast around in the inside of the box, but easily taken out or replaced. The trappings in the way of hunting shirt, leggins, moccasins, coarse shirts and drawers were all that I could wish at that time. It was no difficult matter to procure dressed buffalo and deer skins, as our trade up the Missouri was better than

it ever has been since; and besides many of the original squads of the Choctaws, Cherokees, and Chickasaws were still lingering around New Orleans.

In the bundle on top of the gun were my belt and trappings for hunting. A description of them may be interesting to some of those who may in after years feel like settling another Texas, if such can ever be found in North America, which I very much doubt. The belt was of worsted girthing, of a brown chocolate color, with a large buckle with a leather tongue to fit. On the left side was attached, but removable, a sheath for a large knife some 13 or 14 inches long and 2 inches wide with a firm hickory handle. It would weigh  $3\frac{3}{4}$  lbs. and was of the best cast-steel, finely tempered. This, Mr. Nichols said, was in every way preferable to a hatchet or tomahawk. On the right side of the belt was attached a bag containing two compartments and protected by a flap or covering of a material impervious to water. A second strap of the same material as the belt came down from the right shoulder, the two ends buckled to the belt near together on the left side. On this was my small skinning knife, the blade "Turk" shaped,  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches long, and of the best metal, and a sack of twelve or fifteen bullets and flints.

The schooner being securely moored, all hands went to work, and in eight or nine days she took her place in the basin, ready for her ballast and live freight. They had placed on her 1000 lbs. of iron and farming utensils. Little had an adventure of 1000 lbs. pot metal.

Up to this time no news had come of our intended captain, but the next day or two we learned of his arrival. He came down one evening in company with Colonel Austin, Mr. Hawkins, the Messrs. Lovelace, and one or two others to take a look at the new rigged schooner. I heard Captain Cannon, our newly arrived commander, remark to Colonel Austin that it would be a couple of days before he could take charge, as he had to get rid of the sloop of which he had been in command; but turning to Captain Butler he said, I "guess" I will be down in early morning, and bade us good evening. Now I had got a sailor blouse and pants to work through the slush and paint, and it gave me the full appearance of one of the hands. At breakfast I had taken as usual the head of the table to pour out the coffee, etc., when Captain Cannon made his appearance. I ordered the cook to prepare a plate. Captain Butler invited Captain Cannon to sit down, pointing to the vacant seat. I saw

that he looked a little straight at me, as much as to say, that my seat should be offered to him. I finished my breakfast and had taken my seat on some scantling out ashore. The old Captain was in conversation with Captain Butler, and the hands had all gone to work close by. The old fellow came out to look around and turned to me and said, "Bring the yawl. I want to cross the basin." I without moving called on Jimmy to bring the yawl. The captain very sternly said, "I ordered you, sir, to do it." I nodded that I understood it so, and replied, "And I order Jimmy to do it." By this time the boat was along side. When he got in and started, he asked Jimmy who that fellow was, but I lost Jimmy's reply. Captain Cannon had a gray twinkling eye, was in the neighborhood of fifty years old, about 5 feet, 6 or 7 inches high, quite fleshy, weighing about 160, of a florid complexion, fond of his toddy, and quite on the lethargic order.

We were getting things ready for a start. Many of the immigrants had been to look at the "Little Lively." Colonel Austin and Mr. Hawkins had been gone several days.<sup>1</sup> We still had not taken on our provisions, a list of which I brought down from the office of Captain Rinker. There were six sacks of salt, four barrels of mess pork, six barrels flour, three barrels Irish potatoes, a small cask of side bacon, several boxes and barrels of pilot and sea bread, a tierce of rice and lard, but little of which was put ashore when we landed at the mouth of the Brazos. We started on the morning, I think, of the 23rd of November.

The list of the passengers was as follows: The two Lovelaces, Stephen Holston, Young Phelps, Mr. Harrison, Captain Jennings, Captain Cannon, Mr. Butler, and myself, making nine in all, to occupy the cabin, when there were but seven berths. The list of the other immigrants, as far as I can recollect, was as follows: Nelson, an engineer from New York, who came out on the "Feliciana"; a Mr. James Beard, fifty years old; Beddinger, a small man forty years old; Mr. Wilson; Mr. Williams; Mr. Mattigan; Mr. Thompson, a carpenter; Mr. Willis; William, the servant of Mr. Harrison; a man named O'Neal; and two or three others whose names I have forgotten or never knew. Now when they

<sup>1</sup>Colonel Guy M. Bryan says that Colonel Austin and Mr. Hawkins left the boat, but Hawkins did not accompany Austin to Natchitoches or to Texas.

all had left the cabin, I began to look out for myself, for I had no idea of being cooped up in the hold of the vessel. So I put my grievance to Butler. He pointed to a place under the companionway, which was filled with buckets, paint, oil, and débris of all kinds. I measured it and found it would receive a small double mattress and asked him to have it cleaned out. Then I went and purchased a mattress, a pair of large four point Mackinaw blankets, and two moss pillows, and prepared a superb bunk for two. The old Captain came in the evening and called to Butler. Both came down the companionway into the cabin. The Captain had observed the new sleeping place, and had been counting noses and had found that two whom he expected to go in the cabin had no bunks. I was lying down on our new bed, when he said, "There are not bunks for all to go into the cabin unless that new one is given up." I replied in a pretty sharp tone, "Not without a scuffle." "Why, who in the d—l are you?" "I am owner and proprietor of this bunk, and if I know myself it will be given to no one without my consent. As to who I am, Captain Cannon, Mr. Rinker or Mr. Little will satisfy you." In the course of the next day, the day we sailed, I sought an opportunity to say to Mr. Harrison and Captain Jennings that Lieutenant Butler and I could and would spare them our bunk twelve hours out of the twenty-four.

Here ended my intercourse with the descendant and representative of "Plymouth Rock and the Mayflower," captain of the "Lively." His being in command was an unfortunate thing for us and the colony. How often, how very often, my mind has reverted to the incident of placing this Yankee miscreant in charge of the expedition. No one can calculate the beneficial results that the success of the expedition would have had in the incipency of the almost strangled colony. The thousand and one false and injurious reports had their foundation in this mistake. It was said we were all lost in attempting to pass the bar at the mouth of the Brazos. Another story was that we had been murdered by the Indians. Now, only for reflection's sake, suppose we had taken the vessel inside and gone some twenty or thirty miles up to one of those large cane brakes, with all necessary implements and provisions and with no fences to build, had cut down four or five hundred acres of the undergrowth and cane in January, had burned it off in March and planted it in corn and vegetables. Had we done this, enough bread

stuff could have been raised to sustain a thousand immigrants. Then instead of the tedious and difficult land route, immigration to Austin's colony would have followed this route by water, and would have given an impetus to the colony that is incalculable. But enough of this. Texas passed through it all and is today a democratic empire, even against the will of Grantism. Would to God that we of Louisiana were as well out of its clutches.

About the 22nd or 23rd of November we made a start with some twenty besides the crew on the little schooner. I should have mentioned that a second floor had been constructed for immigrants just above the freight as ballast. We had gotten through the Rigolets and into the blue gulf. It had been threatening weather for two or three days. This overtook us about 12 o'clock our first night out, and for thirty-six hours there blew a terrible gale. We were driven, it was said, among the Bahamas, or some of the islands in that region, and when it ceased we were becalmed for a similar length of time. The wind was nearly all the time contrary, and then came another storm of wind and rain, and we did not reach the coast for over four weeks so as to make a landing or learn where we were, when finally we located ourselves in the neighborhood of the bay of Sabine. Having then a fine east wind, we sailed west and passed the opening of the bay of Galveston. We beat back and saw the mouth of the Brazos, but at the time did not suspect it to be a river. We returned to the entrance of Galveston bay. The wind was very cold and from the northwest.

We were now very short of anything fresh, and it was determined to try our new seine. We proceeded a mile or two above the entrance to a cove in the beach. Our seine being not a large one, say, seventy-five or one hundred yards long, with the aid of our yawl it was put out, and to the surprise of all we could not bring it in for the abundance of fish of all sorts. A great many were dressed and we hung them on the rigging to try to dry them.

We then, it being nearly or quite dark, put into the bay. We rounded to, and to our surprise here we found a felucca, or schooner of about our own size. We dropt anchor about eighty or one hundred feet west of her, when we observed a commotion on her. She, like the Lively, had too many on her to be a trader. By this time the little Lively's decks were pretty full. A demand from us was made of the other for her name and nationality, and we asked for a man to be sent on board our vessel. Her captain said his boat

was not seaworthy, but he would be glad if our captain would go on board their vessel. Lieutenant Butler went along side and found that, as the captain said, she was privateering against the Mexicans. Butler reported us to be a United States cutter on the lookout for pirates. So things remained until morning, but when day peeped in from the east nothing could be seen of our pirate.

Further down the island, however, we found a large brig or sloop which had been scuttled, her stern in six or seven feet of water, the bow quite out at low tide. We dropped down close to her as it was bluff beach and plenty of water for us. On going ashore we found a comfortable large tent made from the sails of the brig, with several persons therein, and two or three yawls in the water. No doubt they were some to be taken on the felucca which we had scared away. Here we found the partner of the captain, whose name was Roach. This man on shore was named Seymour. With them was a woman, who was said to be, and no doubt was, the wife of Colonel or General Long, and who had made her way to the father-in-law of this buccaneer. Captain or Lieutenant Seymour said she had been induced to come to the island in order to get to New Orleans. She was of a highly respectable family of Natchez. I heard of her arrival the following summer or fall.

As soon as these facts were made known to the authorities in New Orleans, one of the United States cutters was on the alert for the pirate and overtook her in the course of the spring or summer of '22. I was in New Orleans when the captain was put on trial as a pirate, but he was released for want of evidence. He claimed to be privateering against the Mexican government.

The brig had as part of her goods and freight, which was lying in a promiscuous and confused pile, a large quantity of crab or boiled cider, some twenty or thirty large hewn Campeachy mahogany timbers, twenty inches or two feet square and ten or twelve feet long, a large quantity of Castile soap in square four inch pieces ten, twelve, and fifteen inches long, and perhaps some other articles not now recollected.

Our next move was two or three days later. The old Governor concluded to go across the bay to see what lay immediately to the west and north of it. I jumped at the prospect of being one of the party, but was met by Little and the Governor, when they saw me busied in fixing my gun and hunting accoutrements, with the remark that I couldn't go for want of room. I replied that I expected

to handle one of the oars. They asked if I knew anything about pulling. I replied that I could row as well as, or better than, any one of the immigrants. Then Supercargo Little said they would see. It was the first exposure of my rifle and outfit, which naturally created some little surprise and comment.

The following morning was clear and pleasant with a southeast wind. I went to the boat and steadied the mast of the yawl and hung the sail. This was done with but few knowing it, though I had Jimmy to help me, since the mast and sail had to be brought from the vessel. I went up and got my breakfast, when something was said about getting the sail out, as we had a fair wind to go down with. Then Jimmy remarked that the mast and sail was rigged. I was the first down and took my seat in the bow, with oar in hand, when we found that we were eight in all. We had a beautiful sail to the western shore of the bay, and we supposed it to be forty or fifty miles. We reached there near sunset. We learned where there was a scrubby growth of brush wood, but had some difficulty in finding fire wood.

In the morning we set out nearly a west course, over a dense prairie, covered with nothing but grass, which was generally as tall as a man. We kept our course for two or three hours, looking out for timber in some direction or other. The thirst of the party became intense. Mr. Jack Lovelace proposed to break into three parties, the two outside to diverge to the right and left, i. e., to the north and to the south. I preferred the north direction. When the old Governor said that some of us would be lost in this prairie, I then for the first time showed what old Mr. Nichols had the foresight to furnish me among other things,—a small pocket compass about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter, in a small brass box. So I struck off and found Holston and Jack following. I perceived that the prairie had once been part of the Gulf and had been built up by the deposit of the Gulf current, and that the prospects for timber and water must be to the north. It was now getting past midday. I took my course east of north. We had gone perhaps two hours, say five or six miles, when we saw the appearance of timber. Mr. Holston started back with a flag on his ramrod, which he thrust into his gun a foot or so. After going a mile or two he fired his gun, and the middle party saw the flag, and one of them went for the men who were going south. They had diverged but little and were soon called in. When we all got together and to the timber, it was quite



late. We went in search of water, and some was found in a hole in a buffalo path. We went down the patch of low scrubby brush wood, and as we advanced the timber increased in size and widened. We then turned to the edge for a camping place where we could have wood and water.

When we found it was getting dark, I had quit the squad and had gone toward the heart of the timber, for it was not more than two or three hundred yards wide. I stopped to see if I could hear the noise of the company, but instead I heard the flutter of turkeys going to roost. This was lucky, for we had killed nothing after leaving the boat, and our provisions were getting very short. I then went to find the camp. It was further down than I expected. I found most of the men sound asleep. The old Governor and his brother were talking. He enquired of me what I had found or seen, and if I had been lost. I told him I found plenty of good water, but better than that I heard a gang of turkeys flying to roost. Mr. Holston, who was not asleep, raised up and inquired how far off. I told him it was a half mile or so. He asked me if I could find the place in the morning. I thought I could and told him I was going to try. He replied that he would go with me. We were up a little before day. I proceeded to a place that I had marked out where I struck the prairie, and from there I went direct to where I had heard the turkeys. I had just stopped, when we heard a big gobble. This was enough, and we soon got among them. I was unlucky, commenced too soon, and missed my first two shots. Holston shot twice and killed two gobblers. Then we returned to camp.

I had observed a good deal of fresh deer sign in the woods and I went again to the bayou and down it some distance without finding anything; but in attempting to return, I became a little bewildered and had rather lost my reckoning until they fired a gun. They were ready to start. I answered by firing mine. They had all started back. This I knew they intended, as I overheard the Governor say so that night.

At this juncture I achieved my first considerable exploit in killing, by sheer accident except for a correct aim, a large bear. The party had advanced a quarter or a half mile before I left with part of what remained for my morning's repast. The growth of timber around me was in the shape of a crescent, the two points extending in the direction of our boat. Now for sixty or a hundred feet next the edge of the forest it was free from some cause or other of high

grass and afforded easier walking than in the tall thick prairie grass, but I concluded to take the latter as some blind buffalo and deer paths pointed to the upper point of the crescent where I intended to join the rest of the party. I think I had not gone more than two hundred yards on my route, when I heard the report of a gun from them. I of course looked to see the cause, and saw that they were looking at right angles from my direction. I kept my eyes busy to see the object they appeared to be following with their eyes. Most of them soon started on. They said they did not see where I was. I was, however, very soon relieved as to what had occurred, when turning my eyes in the direction of my intended route, I discovered from the motion of the high grass that, whatever the object at which they were looking might be, it was making its way toward me. I took it to be a deer or panther or wolf. I soon learned what it was, for I saw at a distance of some eighty or a hundred yards that it was a bear. He had stopped, and rising on his hind feet looked to see if he was followed. He immediately started on his course and came as near as within thirty yards of me. Here he repeated his operation of looking out in the direction of the others as before. I had prepared myself for him. I had reprimed my gun and sprung the trigger, and as he stopped I cocked and leveled it at his shoulder blade. At the crack of the gun, he made one spring and came by within twenty feet of where I was standing. I saw as he passed me that I had done my work, for the blood was running from his other side, showing that my ball had passed entirely through him. I then reloaded and went to where he had stood and found evidence that I had killed him. The party was stopped and waiting some demonstration from me. I hoisted my Scotch cap on my ramrod and signalled to them. Mr. Holston and Lovelace started for me. When they arrived they enquired what it was. I said I had killed a large bear. They asked where it was, and I replied not very far off. They asked if I had been to it, and I shook my head. We had advanced twenty or thirty feet on the trail of the bear when blood appeared on each side. When we had gone a hundred yards, we came up to the dead bear. By this time the whole party, coming one by one, had arrived. I assisted in turning the bear on his back, and here I christened my little skinning knife by opening his belly from brisket to tail. At this point, the Governor said to me, "Young man, you show signs of having learned something of a huntsman." I replied that I was a Kentuckian,

born and bred among wild horses and cattle and an abundance of wild animals and game. Then I left to hunt for a hole of water in the bayou to wash my "hunter's choice" for my supper. Here my work ended.

The others went on skinning and cutting up such parts as could be well packed, and when they had got through I was called for. I had stretched myself for a nap, being tired and suffering from loss of sleep the night before. I started after all had gone forward and again took up my tramp through the prairie. The idea I had first formed as to the land having once been a part of the gulf was correct. Here, at a distance of perhaps seven or eight miles from the beach, evidences were numerous as to this formation. I reached my point of intersection with the route followed by the others some little time before the others arrived. I had taken a seat on a high bunch of grass and weeds, and while awaiting the arrival of the others I killed my first mule-eared rabbit. This one was at least as large again as our Western tribe, and was a perfect curiosity to me. It differed from ours of Kentucky only in its size and its immense ears. I skinned it down to the foreparts and severed it beyond the kidneys.

By this time some of our party had come in here. After resting a short time, it now being ten or eleven o'clock, the question was discussed as to direction of the boat. The Governor and Little decided on a course nearly east. I told Mr. Jack that they should go more to the south. I struck out nearly southeast, taking an observation for that course of a half mile or so. They were fifteen or twenty degrees south of me, and were soon out of my sight. I took an object in my old course and then another. This brought me as I thought in the vicinity of the bay. I had, however, to go one or two stages further, when I saw the water of the bay glistening before me. Being a little doubtful as to my course, I had yielded a little to theirs. I at first was a little bothered as to the locality of the boat, but when I looked for the island I at once discerned that I was too much to the south. I thought I was nearer the island than when we landed. I found the boat three-quarters of a mile north of me.

The others didn't get in until late in the evening. I had gathered some weeds, sticks, and chunks, which had been driven ashore. When they arrived, a consultation was held as to whether we should sail at once, or wait until morning. It was then about three o'clock p. m. I was (unexpectedly to me) appealed to as to what was the best to do. I said that we could not worst ourselves by going then.

We had two reasons why it was best; a good fair west breeze, and the moon far in her second quarter; and I said that if a storm should threaten us we could find a cove in the island to land. I added that our water was getting scarce, or at least my flask was nearly empty. I feared we were about to have a change of weather, and we should be as well off in the boat as on land.

All hands turned to and in a few minutes we were going at a rate of five to seven knots. We were troubled a little about oyster banks and had to keep off. In consequence, we did not reach our landing until near 2 o'clock, just after the moon went down.

Preparations were made early in the morning to go to the mouth of the river. Here commenced our troubles, distress, and privations. The wind had shifted to the west. We had a rain after our arrival, but it had again cleared away. We got under way at about ten or eleven o'clock and ran down to what was then called the "West End." Here Mr. Butler found three and a half to four feet of water, with what he thought a long bar, but plenty of water inside. As the moon shone quite bright we reached the mouth early in the morning, and then commenced a scene that can't be described. Every one was trying to get ashore first. My friend Butler got a chance and told me to leave nothing on the vessel that I could take care of on shore. We had before spoken together about the old Captain's desire to go further west and try to pick up a return load.

What became of the vessel we never knew. We had a report that when she got back to New Orleans one of the Messrs. Hawkins had started to return with her, and that she foundered on the coast in a storm and she and all on board were lost. I think from what I gleaned from McDonald when I reached New Orleans in October, '22, that Captain Cannon had gone to Matamoras and sold the vessel and the freight. Captain Butler quit her there. I could learn nothing more, nor could I learn where old Captain Rinker was. The report was that he went north and died.

I was the last to go ashore; and, as I gathered my gun box, my trunk, my blankets, and my overcoat, it struck the old captain that I was taking out of the vessel an unnecessary quantity of my property that was all to come on board again to go further west. I replied that I for one would never consent to go on board again; that if ever I got my big foot on big land my seafaring was at an end. We were landed on the west bank of the river, I suppose for convenience in procuring wood, as the sea beach was literally covered

with drift wood. For several hours I was taken up with curiosity in looking over the drift. The greater part of it must have come from the Mississippi and perhaps thousands of miles up that river, the Tennessee, the Ohio, and the Missouri. We could find almost any household article, and everything that would float. There were plow stocks and handles, wheels destitute of any iron, parts of spinning wheels, parts of home made chairs, rails of poplar and other light wood, old canoes and the larger pirogues, flat boat gunnels and vessel spars, some perfect, etc., etc.

Well, the two Messrs. Lovelace, Mr. Harrison, Mr. Holston, Mr. Jennings and Little prepared to ascend the river, taking two of the immigrants to help manage the boat, and leaving the balance of some thirteen or fourteen on the beach. They went to try to learn something of those who went on the land expedition with Colonel Austin. I think they left that evening.

When this party went away, the virtuous individual, I. Beard, was left in charge as a kind of commander and sutler. Now with the exception of Beddinger, or Bellinger, and a man named Willis, not one of those remaining could load or shoot a rifle, and Willis had none. Just before starting Mr. Little gave every man a United States musket or yager, with powder and shot. "Such a getting upstairs" in rubbing and fixing muskets never was seen. It was now about the 10th or 12th of January, rather too late for brant, geese, and ducks, but the marsh was literally covered next morning with the feathered tribe. I anticipated the sequel. In two days not a brant or duck or goose was to be seen, except on the wing a quarter of a mile above us. I think that altogether not more than one or two ducks were killed. They were made so very wild in one day that it was impossible to get in killing distance of them.

There had been coffee and sugar enough to last, together with some rice and a little flour that we had, ten or more days; but through a want of care and proper management it soon became short. The fact was that the men who had been so long on board, most of them sea sick, ate like hogs when they were out of their prison and ashore. About the fourth day in the morning, I had gone down the beach very early to see the chance for game of any kind, but found nothing more than a salt marsh as far as I could see. I was hungry and faint. When I returned I asked Beard if he had saved nothing for my breakfast. He said there was a piece of middling, but no bread, a little coffee, and no sugar. He said in a

very rough way that I ought to have been there when the others ate. I replied that I had gone in search of game and had had to go at least three or four miles, but everything had been driven off by those new hunters. I recollected having a few sea biscuits in my trunk, and I opened it and got three.

I intended to make another effort to find game by wading a lagoon or lake on our side of the river, but Mattigan, my Irish friend, said I could not get over without a boat, for it was not only deep water but very boggy. I remarked to him in the hearing of the others that things looked squally, that I thought old Cannon did not intend coming back, or he would have passed by once or twice, which he promised to do, that as to the old Governor and the party I supposed they were captured by Indians, and that we were in a fair way to starvation. In the evening I got this sturdy Irishman off, and suggested to him the chances of crossing the river on a raft to the other side. I told him that the land was higher and the timber not so far off, and that the chances for game were better than on the side we were on. He very readily consented to help me and went for an axe. We found a much lighter job than we thought, for it was quite easy to find light seasoned logs. We made a very substantial raft sufficient to buoy up three men or more. I warned him not to speak of my project, or we should have it as it was at first, and everything would be scared away by the muskets. He said there was no danger of that, for they were already afraid of the Indians.

Early next morning I awoke and awakened Mattigan. We went at once and found the current quite slack, the tide being near its fall. We, or rather he, had picked up scraps of plank to make two paddles, and we crossed with no trouble. I stood on the bank to see him row back, for he said he knew very little about water craft. I instructed him to pull first on one side and then on the other, and steer his raft straight across.

I started for the timber, for the river ran through a salt marsh, and if I recollected aright there was not so much as a scrub or a sapling on either side for perhaps a mile or more. I proceeded about half a mile, when off to my right, three or four hundred yards away, I discovered a single deer feeding. I felt my chance to be a bad one, as I had nothing to hide myself. She was too busy to notice me, and I stooped down and advanced when she put her head down to feed. I had to go forward in this manner half way to her

before the tall grass could be reached. When I got there, I acted in the same way, until I supposed I had got within about seventy or eighty yards of her. I raised up, when I thought she saw me, though I could not see her head, and took good aim and fired at her shoulder. When the smoke cleared away I could see nothing of her, and began to fear I had missed her; yet I knew my bead was good. I kept my eyes on or near where she had been standing and went, as I thought, eighty or a hundred yards, without seeing anything of my deer. I, however, kept on in the same direction and finally came upon her lying dead. It was 140 yards, and she was shot in the head. Here was something like a providential thing. I shouldered the deer, after taking out its entrails, and carried it to the bank. I was some four hundred yards from camp. I had to shoot off my gun as a signal, and Mattigan and one other came up and brought over the raft. I hardly think the venison lasted a half hour. I got a taste of it and immediately went back, and then all were in motion to get across to the woods.

I told Mattigan to put together everything that would be damaged by getting wet and to cover it with the little tent cloth and fasten it down with weights. When I had crossed over I took the margin of the bank, and when I reached the commencement of the timber I saw a large prairie hawk alight on the top of one of the largest of the scrubby trees, some eighteen or twenty feet high. It was unapprehensive of danger, so I got a good range and shot it. It was very fat. I hung it up to make a good pot of soup, Beard having still left some rice. I went some two miles higher up, but found no game, so I returned to "Camp Hawk," for this was the name it was known by afterwards.<sup>2</sup> I had eaten nothing since morning, and lay down hungry and tired.

We had plenty of pretty good water, as the river was low, and where I found any in the swamp it was good, for it was rain water and the month was January. Mr. Little had very little foresight, or he would have had the seine and hooks and lines brought ashore. They were intended for the expedition, and would have relieved us of our great fear of starvation; for we could have caught any quantity of the best of fish, and the seine and fishing tackle would have proven of great assistance to the whole family of immigrants,

<sup>2</sup>Colonel Bryan says: "This place retained the name of Hawk Camp for many years, and lost it only after the old settlers died away."

though the site selected for a permanent stop was some distance from the beach.

The following morning I was up very early and awoke my man Mattigan. We were as yet not out of salt, so we took some in a piece of cloth, and cautiously left all the others sound asleep. I reached the point where I had turned back the previous night. It was now quite light, and I followed up the bank of the river a mile or so, when I saw a gang of turkeys, and soon one of them flew across. I knew the others would follow, so I beckoned to Mattigan to lie or sit down and not to move until I called him. I made a little circuit to get above them in case they should go out or up the river. When I had gone, as I thought, far enough I saw directly before me a pretty large bayou, and I was not more than a hundred yards from its confluence with the river. I advanced some fifty or more yards and kept still. The turkeys were very busy picking the hackberries, and I soon got a good shot and killed one. The report started them towards where Mattigan was, but some of them had not yet come over. I advanced a little further down and soon succeeded in killing another. I started Mattigan with all speed back with them, and told him not to stay, but to come back, and to bring his own musket and buckshot. I thought I should get another turkey but failed, though they took to the swamp. I succeeded in getting another shot, but missed.

I struck the bayou again and in creeping along scared up two deer, but as the undergrowth was very dense they got away. While on the brink of the bayou loading my gun I heard a splash in the water some forty yards up and saw the commotion of the water from the effect of the disturbance. I waited, and soon some animal made its appearance on the opposite side and went up the bank, which was some five or six feet high. It went into the grass out of sight, but soon returned and would in three seconds more have been in the water again if I had not made a little noise. I had a bead on it, when it raised itself up a little. At the crack of my gun it turned over backwards, and lay lifeless, the ball taking effect on the neck in front. The next question was how to get it. It occurred to me that I wanted to get across the bayou to be relieved of a very turbulent, boisterous, and above all, the larger portion of them, a blackguard set. Generally sleeping all day, they were prepared to keep themselves and others awake at night with all kinds of most obscene brothel songs and stories and long yarns to match. The



two men, Beard and Nelson, the New York engineer, were generally in the lead. At first I gently remonstrated and I think it tended to stimulate them, for by this time I had become a favorite with most of the party. They understood that but for me they would have been in a starving condition. Beddinger, the other hunter having a rifle, had that morning killed a deer which, together with my two turkeys, helped them through. Well, I started up to learn more of the bayou and try to get over. I ran my ramrod down once or twice to ascertain what kind of a bottom it was, and then I tried it again with a long stick. It was loblolly. This I anticipated, but I soon observed that logs and all manner of brush and débris were quite abundant and that they accumulated as I went up. I soon came to a log, which I crossed, marking the place so that Mattigan could cross there also. I proceeded to find my dead otter, for this was what it was, a young one more than half grown, and very fat.

Now I began to make my way down toward the mouth of the bayou, looking out for a convenient place to camp. This I selected nearly on the bank of the river. I went about preparing to make a fire when Mattigan made his appearance on the other side of the bayou, with our "sleeping irons," i. e., our blankets. I directed him to where I had crossed, saying that he would find a blaze cut on a sapling to mark the place. He put out, and as it was a full mile he was some time coming around. He said he had come near getting a shot at three deer, which detained him. I could not but smile at the idea of him, a raw Irishman, shooting a deer, as in all probability he never had fired off a gun. I had taken the skin off our game, and we put it on the coals to broil. It was very acceptable, as we were exceedingly hungry.

It was now near 12 o'clock. I said I was going back across the bayou to try to kill another deer for the others, late in the evening or early in the morning. We started off, taking a little round to learn what was to be seen. To my surprise I encountered a cane brake, but not of large growth, and I saw a good deal of deer and turkey sign. Here I found the first pecan trees I had seen, the ground in many places being covered with pecans and the hulls. Bear sign was to be seen, and of very recent date. I found the pecan and hackberry trees very numerous here. Near the banks of the bayou and river I think the land was a little higher than below

the bayou and back in the swamp; for this land, like that along the Mississippi, Red, and Arkansas, and perhaps all other alluvial soils, is seen to be higher immediately on the margin of the water course than it is further back. This I suppose to be due to the fact that in a flood or high stage of water sufficient to overflow the banks, the heaviest particles of the impregnated water, as soon as it is left to become still, settle first after leaving the swift bubbling circling current, and of course this makes the deposit greater than it is further out.

Mattigan and I turned to cross the river, and on the opposite bank we saw a very large raccoon on his hind legs surveying us, apparently not the least alarmed. Mattigan wanted me to shoot or let him have a shot, but I refused. When he asked why not and said it might be good eating, I told him I was after larger game than a raccoon. He exclaimed, "Be sure, is he the raccoon of America?" I said to him that he must stop talking, for the human voice would make the most ferocious and wildest animals of the woods cower and run.

We crossed over and I made my calculations to go in as near a parallel line with the river as I could, and told Mattigan to go to, or within a half mile or so of, the river, down toward the other camp. I told him not to go too fast and he might make all the noise he wished; he might sing any of his Irish songs, as I knew he was quite gifted in that way. I remained still until I supposed he had gone the proper distance, when I cautiously went on my way. We had, or I had, gone a mile when three deer passed within a hundred yards of me, going in the direction of the bayou. I saw they knew nothing of our presence, so I thought I could find them on my return. They were not much alarmed, for they were going in gentle trot.

I pursued my course, and came to a blown up half grown tree giving quite an inviting seat, which I took near the roots. I had been there half an hour when my attention was attracted by the noise of breaking sticks, which came from a thicket of undergrowth perhaps an acre or so in size. I knew that it was an animal of some kind, and that it was going to cross before me, for it appeared to be going at right angles to my course. Soon it came out and stopped. It had the wind of me, and I knew it would break off in a run. It was but sixty yards away and I determined to risk a shot. I shot

at it quartering to me. I shot a little too far back. It sprang up and turned back, running at its best speed. I went to where it stood and found hair and at the third or fourth jump plenty of blood. It had gone directly back, and I was fearful it would try to cross the river. Following it I found where it had lain down. This encouraged me, as I now knew it was badly wounded. The quantity of blood showed me that the ball had gone through the liver and perhaps part of the lungs. I here hallooed to find if Mattigan was within hearing, and to my surprise—for he had seen me some way off a little before I hallooed—he came out of breath running, his eyes as big as small eggs. I questioned him, and he told me he had seen a large bear coming towards him. I asked him why he did not shoot it. "Oh be me faith," replied he, "I just got out of his road. I did not want him to squaze the life out of me in the wild foxes' woods." I told Mattigan that I thought we should try to "squaze" the "mate" off of some of his fat ribs, pointing at the same time at the puddle of blood where he had lain down. He enquired if that was from the bear, and asked where it was. I said we should wait a little and then we should find him if he had not crossed the river; that if he had again lain down and would remain half an hour he would be ours. So I said that we would not disturb him for awhile. Then I asked him if he heard my gun. He said he did, but that he did not think I was shooting at the bear, it was too far for the animal to run after it had left him. I asked him if the bear saw him. He replied, "I reckon he did, for I heard him blow his nose once or twice. He turned and went one way, and you see I went the other." We started on the trail and did not go two hundred yards when we found a dead two year old bear. We soon took out his entrails and quartered him and hung what we could not pack up on forks of saplings. We then trudged back to our crossing.

It was now getting late, and after another meal from our otter I told Mattigan to go to the other camp and let them come to where the balance of the bear was and have them to bring it to the river at the mouth of the bayou. I told him then to quit them and come to our camp alone. I thought I saw depicted in his face a degree of reluctance, and immediately conjectured the cause, and said, "You are no coward, I know." "Well," said he, "suppose I mate up with one of those varmints again?" I said they would run from

him faster than he could from them, as in the instance of the bear. "Let me here repeat," I said to him, "what I said at the landing in the presence of those two old hunters, for I said it for them to hear. I have been reared from infancy in the wilds of Kentucky, in a portion of it that ten years ago was as wild as where we now are, with nearly all of the same animals that are here. I learned that there is almost no animal that will voluntarily attack a man. There are, of course, some exceptions. A tiger or panther will defend its young, and so will perhaps some lesser beasts. We have of our domestic animals the cow, the dog, the sow, and the horse, that will protect their young. The panther, the Mexican tiger, the catamount, and the wild cat may be driven by hunger and the immediate smell of fresh blood to attack a person; and the California, or mountain, grizzly is said to be afraid of nothing and is always avoided by the gold hunter. Our black bear is cowardly beyond any thing. It has been known to run at simply the breaking of a stick or the falling of a limb, even at fifty or a hundred yards distance. Now go, and I will see what is around this cane brake. You need not be afraid of seeing anything, for our shooting and passing has relieved the danger." So we both went from the camp together, he to our crossing and I to see what I could up the river.

I now began to be quite anxious about the party that had gone up the river, for this was the eighth or ninth day out. I at first apprehended some danger about Indians, but I recollected that the land immigrants must have been for two or more months somewhere up the river, and it was very likely that the redskins had gone towards San Antonio, or to the west, so soon as the whites arrived on the river.

After leaving Mattigan, I had travelled nearly a mile or so and was immediately in the edge of the cane, when two deer, both bucks, came running toward me. I suspected them of fighting, for they were forty or more yards apart. The foremost one came within thirty steps of me. I had taken a tree, and he had halted, when I shot him in the breast and knocked him down. The other did not appear to notice the report of my gun and came to where the first was lying. On my loading he spied me, but stood his ground, and seemed to have no idea of going off. I shot him, but shot a little too low, and he ran as though not touched. After going perhaps a hundred yards he fell, but out of sight. After

taking his entrails out, I went to see if I had missed the other. I found hair cut, but a little too white; but soon I saw blood, and was satisfied that I had killed him. I did not go any farther, but went back to be in time to intercept Mattigan in order that he might bring Willis with him, for I did not feel like carrying the meat for them. I found, however, that Mattigan had met the crowd coming up and had crossed over and was at the camp. I told him to go and call Mr. Willis and tell him that I wanted him and to instruct him how to get over. He went, and on his return he reported that he got a chance and beckoned him to the bank and delivered his message. He came, and we all went up to my deer. I went on and found the other, but a wolf had been there before me and had eaten into the flanks, but not to do much harm. I told them to skin down the legs, and tie a hind left to the right fore leg, all around. Then each took a deer.

It was to our interest to try to save the meat when we reached camp by cooking it. I should have said by barbecuing it, for all cooking utensils had been left at the mouth of the river except a small kettle and frying pan, neither of which we had on our side. We collected wood for the night and got sprits to put the pieces on before the fire to roast. We took turns in sitting up and attending to the fire and the meat.

In the morning, I concluded to go over and see what the others were doing. They made no preparation to save any of the meat, except as they ate it. Beddinger had killed another deer, and that was lying unskinned. I asked him why he had not skinned it. He said he thought he had done his part, he had killed it.

Well, we spent that day in doing very little, but late in the evening I killed a fine turkey, very fat, and this we hung before the fire, and had it well cooked by morning. I said, we would not touch it until we saw if the old Governor would come. This came near being the cause of some trouble. While I was gone up the river, the man Nelson found the way around to our camp, and the roasted turkey was too much for him. He concluded to take off a leg. He was the dog with the collar on among the others. Mattigan told him it was not to be cut, that I had said it was to be kept for the old Governor. Nelson said he intended to have a piece of it anyhow, and made a start for it. Mattigan had my big knife, and told him if he touched the turkey he would cut his skull open. Just at

this juncture I made my appearance, and when I saw how things stood, I remarked to Nelson that he had better go back to his side of the bayou, for what was here was individually our own. As he went off he remarked that he would get even with me before the end of the trip.

I now concluded to go some miles up the river. I thought perhaps I might meet the boat, and if I should kill anything, the boat could bring it down. I saw nothing, however, except a large bear about the middle of the river, going to the opposite shore. I found a convenient seat and sat down to rest, but soon after I heard the report of a gun. I took it as a matter of course to be at or near the camp, but on second thought I knew that was too far to hear a gun report. I got very fidgety, for in an instant my mind was made up that it was our party coming down, and in the next twenty minutes the boat turned a far off point. I remained quiet, with anticipations of hearing from Colonel Austin and getting all the news from the States. I almost could have whooped out for joy. My feelings were indescribable.

## THE COMMUNISTIC COLONY OF BETTINA.

(1846-8)

LOUIS REINHARDT.

[The following account represents the substance of an interview with Mr. Reinhardt, of Arneckeville, De Witt County, Texas, who is one of the first settlers in this community. The visionary undertaking here described has become famous among German-Americans in this State on account of the connection with it of Hon. Gustave Schleicher, Dr. Herff, and many other prominent men.—RUDOLPH KLEBERG, JR.]

This colony owed its origin to the efforts of Prince Solms-Braunfels, Baron von Meusebach, and H. Spies, each successively holding the office of general agent of the *Adelsverein*.<sup>1</sup>

The colony was organized in 1846 in Darmstadt. It received its name in honor of Bettina v. Arnim, a German writer, but it was better known as the Darmstaedter Kolonie while its members were generally called the *Vierziger* (men of the forties).

Prince Solms had been in Texas as early as 1844, and his accounts, as well as those of Spies, in writings and speeches caused a sensation among the students of the universities of Giessen and Heidelberg. Solms also made a speech to the students of the industrial school (*Gewerbeschule*) in Darmstadt, where I was studying, and his extravagant descriptions made the students mad. He remarked that there was no demand in the old country for all the professional men whom the universities were turning out, and that they must find a new and developing country where their

<sup>1</sup>*The Adelsverein*, or Union of Princes, was a corporation composed of a number of counts and dukes belonging to the lesser German nobility, and having for its object "the colonizing and promoting of German immigration to Texas on a large scale." It is impossible here to describe in detail the plans and history of this remarkable organization; but a full account can be found in the memorial volume of the semi-centennial of the city of Fredericksburg by Robert Penniger—a highly interesting sketch of a phase of Texas history which is practically unknown in Anglo-American circles. R. K., JR.

services would be in demand. He glowingly described Texas as a land of milk and honey, of perennial flowers, of crystal streams rich and fruitful beyond measure, where roamed myriads of deer and buffalo, while the primeval forests abounded in wild fowl of every kind. And what he said was true. It is a glorious land; and I am glad that I came here.

It was in this way that Gustave Schleicher, a graduate of the University of Giessen and already an engineer on the Meinecker Road, and Wundt, a student of law, were won for the enterprise. A communistic society was organized of which friendship, freedom, and equality were the watchwords. It had no regular scheme of government, so far as I know. In fact, being communistic, the association would not brook the tyranny of a ruler. But the guiding spirits were by common consent Messrs. Wagner, Herff, Schleicher, and Schenk. Being the youngest of the whole company—I was thirteen—I was, of course, rarely consulted. The general director of the industrial school had purchased my freedom from my father with the understanding that I should botanize in Texas. I was well satisfied at first; and Herff and Schleicher treated me like a son.

In Feb., 1847, we left for Hamburg and remained there for several weeks until our ship had discharged her cargo. In April we sailed. Our party consisted of about forty men of whom I remember the following:

Dr. Herff.....	physician.
Dr. Schulz.....	..
Schleicher .....	engineer.
Lerch .....	architect.
Zoellner .....	..
Friedrich .....	lawyer.
Wundt . . . . .	..
Fuchs . . . . .	..
Schleunig . . . . .	..
Amelung . . . . .	..
Hesse . . . . .	..
Wagner . . . . .	..
Herrman . . . . .	forester.
Schenck . . . . .	..
Kuegler . . . . .	..
Vogt . . . . .	..
Louis . . . . .	..
Strauss . . . . .	mechanic.



Flach . . . . .	mechanic.
Schunk . . . . .	carpenter.
Neff . . . . .	..
Neff . . . . .	butcher.
Deichert . . . . .	blacksmith.
Hahn . . . . .	lieutenant of artillery.
Kappelhoff . . . . .	ship carpenter.
Michel . . . . .	brewer.
Ottmer . . . . .	milller.
Bub . . . . .	hotel keeper.
Mertins . . . . .	student of theology.
Backofen . . . . .	maker of musical instruments.
Lindheimer . . . . .	naturalist.
Mueller . . . . .	agriculturist.
Rock . . . . .	an American, who joined in Victoria.

There was no one in our party who could speak English except the cook, who had been in America several times. Dr. Herff had learned the language from books and could manage to make himself understood.

We had a good voyage with no incidents of general interest. We landed at Galveston, July 17, 1847. Dr. Herff and Spies who had sailed ahead of our party here met us, and we were quartered in the William Tell Hotel, kept by a Swiss and the only inn there at that time. A grand reception awaited us; and, being a jolly company, we found no difficulty in showing our appreciation.

As the schooner which was to carry us to Indianola was under repairs, we waited several weeks. When the ship was at last in a condition to sail, she was pressed into service as a transport by the United States government, the war with Mexico being then in progress. We finally succeeded in getting another ship; but when we were ready to sail, the captain was on a "spree." In spite of this, however, we started off; yet before we were far out, the ship struck a sandbank and some planks flew out from behind. The captain began to lower the boat on the pretext of going ashore and securing aid; but before he could carry out his purpose, Dr. Herff with drawn pistol informed him that if it came to drowning the captain would be compelled to stay and perish with us. Here Kappelhoff, who was a ship-carpenter, took charge of the vessel, and by keeping close to the shore, we reached Indianola after five days.

Here twenty-four ox wagons had been waiting for us for three

weeks; since Meusebach, the general agent of the *Adelsverein*, had seen to everything. In addition, he there bought two wagons of six yokes of oxen each, and two mule teams of eight mules each, for we had an immense amount of baggage. In addition to what we had brought from home and had purchased at Darmstadt, we had laid in a big supply at Hamburg and Galveston. We had supplies of every kind imaginable; for instance, complete machinery for a mill, a number of barrels of whiskey, and a great many dogs of whom Morro was the largest, being three feet high. We came prepared to conquer the world.

In Indianola \$10,000 in American gold was paid to us as a premium for settling Fisher's grant by Consul Lee. After a journey of four weeks, our train reached New Braunfels in August. Our trip was comparatively uneventful. We camped on the prairie and sang, drank, and enjoyed ourselves the whole way as only the German student knows how to do. We lived like the gods on Olympus and our favorite song on this tour was

*Ein freies Leben fuehren wir  
Ein Leben voller Wonne, &c.*

In New Braunfels, Schenk and I fell sick with typhoid, while Deichert had the misfortune of being thrown from a horse and breaking his leg. Thus we were unable to move for nearly five weeks; but the whole company waited for us, having no thought of leaving the sick. In New Braunfels on the *Vereinshuegel* (Union Hill) a treaty was made between Meusebach, Spies, and Von Koll representing the Colony, and the Comanches by which the Indians agreed to vacate to our party the tract lying between the Llano and San Saba, and known as Fisher's Grant. The Indians were here represented by their chief Santana (also written Santa Anna) and two others accompanied by Baron v. Kriewitz, Santana's squaws, and his doctor.

Kriewitz had been among the Comanches several months as commercial agent of the colonists at New Braunfels and Fredericksburg according to the wish of the savages themselves. But the Indians did not trust him, looking upon him as a spy; and it is said that his life was thrice saved by Santana's daughter. Kriewitz at the making of the treaty was dressed like an Indian; but at last one of our party recognized him and gazed intently at him. Here-

upon Kriewitz then touched him under the table with his foot. Kriewitz was then handed a piece of paper and pencil, and he wrote back that he was Kriewitz, but that he could not hold open communication with them now; that on the journey back to the Indian camp he would try to get away. He went back with the savages as far as Comanche Spring and escaped, and lay hid in New Braunfels three days while the Indians came to look for him. They came to our own room; and here I saw Santana for the first time. But as far as the treaty went, they kept that to the letter, and later they visited our settlement as they had stated at the time of the treaty. We also were faithful to the compact.

After the sick had recovered, we set out for Fredericksburg, stopping a few days at Comanche Spring, later Meusebach's farm. Kriewitz was our guide, and as he rode ahead of us, one could not have told him from an Indian. Having again spent several days in Fredericksburg we set out for our tract, Kriewitz again being our guide.<sup>2</sup> Of course, we had to move very slowly; and, when we arrived at the Llano, we hunted a ford for three days. The best one finally proved to be but a few yards from our camp, where we had to lift the wagons four feet upon a rock in the bottom of the river by the aid of windlasses, and this work took us from morning until night.

The Llano then was a beautiful stream, as clear as crystal, and known in our party as the "Silvery Llano." One could see the bottom at the deepest places. The whole country was covered with mesquite grass as high as the knee, and abounded in buffalo and deer.

On the other side we came to a big live-oak; and here we camped. Putting our wagons in a circle, we constructed a big tent in the centre, planted our cannon, and put out a guard. Feeling perfectly secure in our fortified camp, we celebrated that night until 3 o'clock. A bowl of punch was prepared, and we sang our favorite songs, while those who could performed on musical instruments of which we had a whole chest. We gave *Lebe Hoch*, United States! *Lebe Hoch*, Texas! For we were all good patriots. This was in the early part of September, 1847.

We built a huge structure of forks and cross beams which we covered with reed-grass. It was forty feet long and twenty-two

<sup>2</sup>See his own account in *Entwicklungs Geschichte*, p. 117.—R. K., JR.

feet wide. Afterwards we constructed an adobe house covered with shingles. A large pecan-tree supplied us with 10,000 of these. In this house was a fire place 12 feet broad and built of rock. On the roof, Strauss put an artistic weather-vane. Here we celebrated the Christmas of 1847, and again had a glorious time.

As I have said, the Indians kept their agreement to the letter. In Nov., 1847, they visited us as they had promised. At the time I was herding cows several miles from our camp, when two Indians rode up. From their signs I supposed they wanted something to eat; and I handed them some bread out of the pouch I carried. Evidently not trusting me, they made signs that I should eat first. The fact was that a great number of Waco Indians had been treacherously poisoned some time before by a band of cowboys. It was a dastardly deed; and the Wacos thereafter became the most hostile of the tribes, as before they had been the most amicable. Well, the end of my interview was that they took everything I had and galloped off. They were hardly out of sight when I saw a big crowd of savages riding up, and as they drew nearer, I recognized the chief, Santana. Upon my asking him if he were not the chief, he seemed greatly surprised that I should know him. He was very much puzzled, too, because I had no beard; for all our party wore them. I told him with my fingers that I was only seventeen. Doubtless he had at first taken me for an American, as none of them wore beards at this time. After that, the Indians drove my cattle, which now had scattered in all directions, into camp. Here Santana learned that I had been robbed, and sent out two men after the thieves, but after two days absence they reported that they were unable to find the robbers.

The Indians camped only a short distance from us. During the night a number of our utensils were stolen by the squaws; but the next day the men returned them. For everything we gave them we were paid back three-fold. As they staid some time, we became well acquainted. Whenever we came into their camp, they would spread out their deer skins, bring out morrals<sup>3</sup> full of the biggest pecans I ever saw, and tell us to help ourselves. They even tried to learn German from us in spite of the great difficulty they found in pronouncing some of the words. The word *Pferd* they

<sup>3</sup>Food or game bags.

could not say at all; *Ross* was easier; but best of all they liked *Gaul*, which seemed to afford them great amusement. Other Indian tribes visited us, but none caused us the least annoyance. There were Lipans, Delawares, Kickapoos, Wacos, Choctaws, Shawnees, and Comanches, making seven different tribes. After January, 1848, no more Indians came.

Several Mormons arrived in the early spring to settle, but did not carry out their intention.<sup>4</sup> Shortly afterwards Bickel who had made himself notorious in Fredericksburg came with some of his followers and began a settlement, known as that of the *Bickeliner*. The leader, however, soon disappeared. He had two wives who constantly quarreled. Next came the *Castellaner* who founded the settlement Castell, which still exists.<sup>5</sup> Their families came in March, 1848.

In the summer of 1848, our colony of "Bettina" went to pieces like a bubble. As I have said, it was a communistic society and accordingly had no real government. Since everybody was to work if he pleased and when he pleased, the result was that less and less work was done as time progressed. Most of the professional men wanted to do the directing and ordering, while the mechanics and laborers were to carry out their plans. Of course, the latter failed to see the justice of this ruling, and so no one did anything. We had made a field and raised 200 bushels of corn—our whole year's crop. According to our contract with the *Adelsverein*, this company was to furnish us with supplies for the first year, but the next we were to shift for ourselves. As it was, we still had a plentiful supply of everything; yet that was bound to end some time; and there was absolutely no prospect of our ever providing for ourselves. I began to see this plainly. Having made arrangements with some teamsters who had brought us some goods, I started for Fredericksburg. Before I got there, eight others were on their way thither; and thus our colony went to the four winds. Bub was killed on the road by Indians.

I went to Meyersville, DeWitt County, Texas, and in that neigh-

<sup>4</sup>They afterwards settled near Fredericksburg. See *Geschichte des Adelsvereins*, p. 108.—R. K., JR.

<sup>5</sup>Named in honor of Count Karl of Castell, vice-president of the *Adelsverein*.—R. K., JR.

borhood I have lived ever since. When, after forty-eight years, I met Dr. Herff in San Antonio, we found that as far as both of us could determine, ten of our company were still living.

Sept. 7, 1898.

SAN AUGUSTINE.<sup>1</sup>

EMMA B. SHINDLER.

My subject is a near and dear one. San Augustine was my childhood's home; around its hills and valleys, its placid streams and hawthorn thickets the sweetest memories cluster. The haws, the ratans, the grapes, the persimmons, and all the wild berries and fruits and flowers that had their homes in the environments of the town were eagerly sought for in my early years with the companionship of a dearly loved brother, making the memories of those haunts doubly precious.

In speaking of the early days of San Augustine I heard my mother say she and her husband were the first persons to drive on Columbia Street, now the main street; as she came into the town the street was just being cleared, and the workman made way for her to pass. That was in '33 or '34. The town, however, was established in '31, and was growing rapidly.

Of course, my knowledge of the early days of San Augustine consists of the reminiscences of my father and mother. It was a very charming place to visit, the society being cultured and refined and the people wonderfully hospitable. Parties in which the old and young took part were of frequent occurrence, and the gentlemen visited in the evenings with their wives. I remember, myself, those social calls, for they were not out of date till some time after the Civil War.

San Augustine was the gateway of Texas and for a time boasted of being the Athens of the State. The three-story University and two-story College showed the respect paid to education. I have heard that as many as two hundred pupils have been enrolled at one time in each school. I know there were handsome homesteads in early days, for my father's house was built in '37, and his was of later date than several others. All of them bear the wear and tear of time's usage remarkably well, showing that our fathers knew the value of good lumber, and built substantially.

<sup>1</sup>Read before the Concilium Club, Nacogdoches, May 18, 1899.

There is no civilization without the refining influence of Christianity, and with the emigrants came religion. Churches were established and suitable buildings put up as soon as practicable. Just which branch of religion was first represented I do not know, neither is it of importance to the non-sectarian reader. Masonry, itself a companion to religion, established a lodge in the thirties, one of the proofs of high civilization.

Among the notable names I recall that shed lustre on the history of this time honored town may be mentioned J. Pinkney Henderson, O. M. Roberts, whose career kept him before the public so many years, R. T. Wheeler, R. S. Walker, and Judge Amos Clark. The last three were familiar to the older citizens of Nacogdoches, as they afterwards came here and lived many years. They were lawyers and honored the profession. Alexander Evans, Otis Wheeler, Elijah Price, C. I. Alexander, A. Huston, Jacob Garrett, William Seigler, Henry Augustin, K. L. Anderson, David Kaufman, Alex. Greer, Thos. Scurry with his sons Dick and Bill, and B. R. Wallace were all representative men. Alexander Horton, Samuel Davis and William Kimbro were three heroes of San Jacinto fame. Martin Parmer, E. O. Le Grand, and my father, were signers of the Texas Declaration of Independence. Tom Ochiltree was there, too, a mere boy, perhaps, for it was his father's home awhile; and Col. John S. Ford, familiarly known as "Old Rip," was a one time citizen who afterwards made his home in San Antonio.

For district judges San Augustine furnished Cullum, Corzine, Terrell, Richardson, and others whose names I have previously mentioned. Judge Terrell afterwards became a member of Houston's cabinet. Col. F. B. Sexton, who grew to manhood and became a prominent lawyer in San Augustine, and was a member of the Confederate Congress, now resides in El Paso.

David Crockett, on his way to the fighting grounds, stopped in the classic town, where his fame had gone before him. It was customary in those good old times to give a hearty welcome to the stranger who claimed recognition, and David Crockett's coming was celebrated by a complimentary ball.

Is not this a galaxy of names worthy to adorn the history of the proudest town in Texas? Where can be found a greater list? Ah! those old days when San Augustine was adorned with the presence of men and women whose names live in history! I have not men-



tioned a woman's name, and this a woman's club! Know, then, that all the men I have mentioned, with but two or three exceptions, had wives, women worthy their positions and the times. And Sam Houston, whose name is cherished by Texas, Sam Houston, who led our fathers to victory, has rested beneath the shade of San Augustine's stately trees, has dwelt for whiles within the homes of admiring friends there; and when fate blessed him with a loving wife he took her to the old, old town of which I write to show her to his friends, who received her with kindly hospitality. With them she danced, to them she sang and played, and only two or three—it may be only one—of those old timers are still alive to freshen memory with a talk of the days when Sam Houston always found a welcome with the Red Landers.

Among the first papers in the State may be mentioned the Red Land Express, published by Capt. A. W. Canfield and honored with contributions from the pens of Rusk, Roberts, Henderson, and others of cherished memory.

San Augustine, in the years that have come and gone, has passed through many and great changes, but the foot-prints are there. Can we not hope that she has reached her lowest ebb, and that the tide will come in again? When the promised railroad for which she is looking shall come will not the valleys sing? San Augustine is sleeping, but she is not dead. The fine forests that surround her, the oil and ores that lie in her bosom, the fertility of her soil, will yet bring her to the front, and she may some day compete with her sister towns for the eminence which was once hers alone.

COLONEL AMASA TURNER'S REMINISCENCES OF  
GALVESTON.

FRANCES HARWOOD.

[Colonel Turner was born in Plymouth county, Mass., November 9, 1800. He lived there until he was twenty-five years old, with the exception of two years spent in New York (1822-24). In 1825 he left Boston for Mobile, Alabama. After remaining in Alabama ten years he emigrated to Texas in April, 1835. He was so pleased with Texas that he declared his intention of becoming a citizen, and received a certificate of "headright" to a league and labor of land. October, 1835, he joined the armed citizens of the country in the campaign against Bexar. After the capitulation of that place he returned to San Felipe, where the Council of the Provisional Government was in session, and was presented with a commission in the First Infantry, Regular Army of Texas. As he was on his way to visit his family in Mobile, General Houston gave him orders to recruit as many men for the Texas army as possible. In Mobile he found it difficult to raise recruits, but during the few days that he remained in New Orleans on his return, he obtained one hundred men; to which number he added enough men to make two full companies soon after landing in Velasco, early in February. One of these companies he enlisted for two years as regulars; while the other, which elected Richard Roman as captain, was mustered in for two years as permanent volunteers. He soon received orders to join with these two companies the main army, supposed to be at Gonzales; but on starting he met General Houston on the Colorado river and they fell back first to the Brazos, and then to Harrisburg, where they heard of the movements of General Santa Anna's army. The campaign ended at San Jacinto.

In 1839 and '40 he improved a plantation on Cedar Bayou, Harris county, but divided his time between that place and Galveston until 1848, when he moved to the Navidad, in Lavaca county, and began to farm. While enjoying this pleasant home he was elected, in 1852, to represent Lavaca and Gonzales in the lower house of the State Legislature, and again in 1854 to represent the counties of Lavaca and De Witt. In 1865 he moved to Gonzales, where he remained until his death in 187—.

At his home in Gonzales, March 20th, 1876, Colonel Turner made notes of some of his recollections of Galveston's early days. On these notes is based the following paper.—F. H.]

In 1836 Colonel Turner belonged to the army of Texas under the command of Major General Sam Houston. On the fourth day of May, 1836, he was ordered with his command (Company B, First Infantry Regulars) to go on board the steamboat Yellow

Stone, which was then lying on the camp at Buffalo Bayou, one mile above Lynchburg. He was to proceed to Galveston with the prisoners taken at San Jacinto and report for duty to Colonel James Morgan, who was then in command of Post Galveston. 'We arrived at Galveston,' says Colonel Turner, 'about midnight on the fifth.' 'I disembarked with my company, lay down on the sand and slept soundly until the next morning, when I reported as ordered after guard mount.'<sup>1</sup>

Post Galveston was situated on the extreme eastern end of the island on what was afterwards termed "the Reserve." When the city was surveyed the government reserved all east of a bayou, the amount being seventy-five acres more or less, for public uses. The line ran from the head of this inlet, a little east of south to the nearest point on the gulf shore. Colonel Turner says, 'When I last visited the place, but little of this reserve remained; or it was so washed that I could scarcely recognize the place where our old quarters were situated.'

Colonel Turner remained at Post Galveston until July 20, 1836, when he was promoted to the command of his regiment, and ordered to headquarters on the Lavaca in Jackson county. He stayed at Camp Johnston until the following December when he visited Columbia during the session of the first congress, and tendered his resignation to the Secretary of War. President Houston refused to accept it, but agreed that he should have a furlough of sufficient length to enable him to go back to Mobile, where his family still lived, move them to Galveston, and then take command of the post.

'I had,' he says, 'now accomplished what I had in view in resigning my commission in the army—to wit, the settlement of my family at Galveston. I chartered a schooner of one hundred tons that drew nine feet of water, loaded her with lumber, took my family on board, and sailed for Galveston. I arrived in Galveston Bay on the sixth of February, 1837, four days after leaving Mobile. As the captain of the vessel had never crossed the bar, and as there were no pilots at that time I agreed in the charter to pilot the vessel in myself: but I tremble when I think of it, for my wife and

<sup>1</sup>Single quotation marks, in this article, will indicate that slight changes have been made in the phraseology, while double marks will show a literal quotation of Colonel Turner's words.

Lafitte's improvements. The hotel measured 40 by 38 feet, having a dining room, office, and three bed rooms on the lower floor, and six bed rooms above, with kitchen and other outhouses near. Colonel Turner built five houses, moved the custom-house out of the street, and made a dwelling of it in the spring of 1838. The wharf known as "Turner's wharf" was exactly opposite the hotel and ran north to twelve feet of water. It was about three times the length of Center Street wharf with a 100 foot T. The piles were of pine, and the worms destroyed them in three years, though it was thought at the time it was built that the bark would protect them. However it would not have been a financial success, as nearly all the business centered on Avenue B above and below Tremont Street, so that few vessels discharged at Turner's wharf. The next wharf west of Colonel Turner's was built soon after, about midway between the Turner and the Brick wharves.

In 1839 Colonel Turner erected an ice house of one hundred tons capacity, which was filled but once. As the material of which it was built (three-inch plank) was wanted immediately by the government, the officer in charge, Col. G. W. Hoekley, pulled it down in order to floor some batteries at the post. This was the first ice house built at Galveston, and it was built on the same block with the hotel.

Colonel Turner says, "My impression is that the first district court held in Galveston county was held by Judge Johnston. Henry Smith was Sheriff, and the name of the clerk I do not remember. The County Court was (I think) held by Judge F. F. Gibson and held in my house (the old custom-house, after I had moved it.) The first election for Congress was held in my house. Lieutenant Colonel Nicholas Lynch and Moseley Baker were the candidates, and Baker was elected."

## PETER HANSBOROUGH BELL.

C. LUTHER COYNER.

Governor Bell sprung from a noble race and fought bravely under three different flags. He was with Sam Houston at San Jacinto under the Lone Star; he was with Taylor and wielded his sword under the Stars and Stripes at Monterey and Buena Vista in Mexico in 1847; and last he was a Confederate and followed the Stars and Bars. He was inspector-general of Texas in 1839, was captain of the Texas Rangers of Southwest Texas in 1845, was twice elected Governor of Texas, and twice represented the Western District of Texas in the United States Congress.

Peter Hansborough Bell, the son of Capt. James Madison Bell and Elizabeth Hansborough Bell, was born March 11, 1810, in Culpeper county, Virginia, and died at his home near Littleton, N. C., March 16, 1898, 88 years old.<sup>1</sup>

The Bell family is Scotch-Irish. In Scotland it has produced a number of great men. It is not often that three sons of one father become eminent, but this is true of two branches of the Bell family in Scotland within the last one hundred years. Sir William Bell's three sons, born in Edinburgh, were Sir Charles Bell (1778-1842), a world known surgeon; George Joseph Bell (1770-1843), a lawyer, jurist, and author; and John Bell (1763-1820), author and traveller. And Patrick Bell, of the West Scotland branch of the family, had five sons, Andrew the surgeon, John the judge, Robert the minister, Thomas the soldier, and Henry the author, all of whom became noted in Scotland, England, and America.

Governor Bell is descended direct from Lord James Bell, of Belhaven, who lost his life fighting in the service of the Scottish crown. A less remote ancestor was Lieutenant James Bell, who went to Ireland in 1690 with William III and for his bravery in battle received a grant of land near Enniskillen. There some of his descendants still live. Four of them, however, all cousins,

<sup>1</sup>Pennybacker's New History of Texas has his name "Hansboro P. Bell," and says that "Governor Bell died in 1892."

three named James and one named Joseph, came to America from Ireland and settled in Lancaster county, Pa., in 1740. They remained in Pennsylvania but a short time, and all moved to Augusta county, Va., whither they finally brought their families. From these four the writer can trace all the Bells of this country. One of the four had a son named Samuel, who was an officer in the revolution, while quite young, and who, along with some of his cousins, was with Morgan at Cowpens, and became a major under Washington. He was the grandfather of Governor Bell. The father of the Governor was a lieutenant in the war of 1812 and must have been commissioned captain, for he was known for years as Capt. James Bell.

To show that the Bells have been a fighting family, in addition to the fact already stated that the branch to which the Governor belonged was represented in the American Revolution, the War of 1812, the Texas Revolution, the Mexican War, and the Confederate War, I cull from the Genealogy of the American Bells and the Official Records of the War of the Rebellion the following summary of the roster of Bell officers. On the Confederate side there were three brigadier-generals, nine colonels, five lieutenant-colonels, nine majors, thirty-four captains, thirteen lieutenants, three corporals, two sergeants, two surgeons, two adjutant-generals, one quartermaster—a total of seventy-one. On the Federal side there were one brigadier-general, nine colonels, five lieutenant-colonels, eleven majors, thirty-two captains, fifteen lieutenants, four surgeons, one adjutant, four corporals, five sergeants, and in the navy one rear-admiral, and one commander—a total of eighty-nine. The grand total of officers for both sides is one hundred and sixty. Of these, ten on the Confederate side and eight on the Federal side lost their lives in battle. Judging from the proportion of privates that went from the writer's native county, that of Augusta in Virginia, which was eighteen to one officer, over three thousand Bells of the same family were arrayed against each other in the Civil War. One branch of this family has given five governors to the different States. Of these, three were governors of New Hampshire, as follows: Samuel in 1819, John in 1828, and Charles H. in 1881. The other two were P. H., Governor of Texas in 1849, and Frank, Governor of Nevada in 1890. From another branch came Thomas Bell of Pennsylvania, an officer in the French and

Indian War; Captain William, killed in the Revolution; Captain David, who did good service in the War of 1812<sup>2</sup>; and a lieutenant in the Spanish-American War of 1898. Four of this family, C. H., James, John, and Samuel, were United States senators. Ten were in the United States Congress, and one served fourteen years. Two were rear-admirals in the United States navy, and four were State supreme judges.

Governor Bell was reared in Culpeper county, Virginia. When he heard of Texans fighting for their liberty in 1836, at the age of twenty-six he left his native State, and in March of that year reached Velasco, from which place he proceeded on foot to the Brazos. There he enlisted as a private soldier under Gen. Sam Houston. He fought bravely at San Jacinto, and won not only admiration from his comrades, but praise from General Houston as well.

Having been inspector-general of the Texas army and a true and tried ranger, when the Mexican War broke out, Mr. Bell was made lieutenant-colonel of the Second Texas regiment, of which Jack Hays was colonel. The captains of this regiment were M. T. Johnson, S. P. Ross (father of the late Governor Ross), Samuel Highsmith, J. S. Gillett, H. W. Baylor, Jacob Roberts, G. M. Armstrong, Isaac Ferguson, E. M. Daggett, and A. E. Handley.

In 1849 Mr. Bell was elected Governor of Texas, and in 1851 he was re-elected. In 1853 he became United States congressman from the Western District of Texas, and in 1855 he entered upon his second term in that office.

In 1857 Governor Bell married Miss Ella Eaton of North Carolina, and moved to Littleton in that State. Here he lived until the Civil War broke out, when he raised a regiment and equipped it out of his own funds, he being what was then considered wealthy. He was made colonel of his regiment, which did valiant service for the Confederacy. Before the war he was the owner of over five hundred slaves and lived in lordly style. All was taken from him and destroyed except the bare land; and the Twenty-second Legislature of Texas, having learned the fact, in 1891 voted him a dona-

<sup>2</sup>One of his sons, "Uncle Jim," married the writer's Aunt Sallie, who gave six brave boys to Company C of the Fifth Virginia, one of Stonewall Jackson's crack regiments.

tion of land and a liberal pension—this, too, without solicitation on his part.

Brown in his History of Texas says that Governor Bell “was a man of splendid physique.....combined with true courage,” and that he “was distinguished by kind and genial characteristics.” This was true of him, and it is just what makes soldiers love and follow their leaders. His rangers and soldiers in both wars idolized him and would follow him anywhere. His picture on page 34 of Daniell's Personnel of the Texas State Government is a good likeness. He was tall and well made, and had pleasant manners, a musical voice, a kind and gentle disposition, and was in every way a true gentleman.

In 1874 those comrades and soldiers of his who were still living made him a honorary member of their association. The writer has before him the original copy of the minutes of the association sent to Governor Bell, which reads as follows:

“Association of Soldiers of the Mexican War of the State of Texas.

Austin, April, 1874.

At a meeting of the association held at Austin on the 25th. day of April, 1874, the following motion was unanimously adopted:

“Upon motion of Gen. Wm. Steele, the following gentlemen were elected honorary members of the association, viz., Col. John C. Hays and Gov. P. Hansborough Bell.

“Attest:

E. W. SHANDS,

“Secretary.”

As stated before, Governor Bell died at his home at Littleton, N. C., March 16, 1898.

Governor Bell was a brave man, a good man, a great man. When the struggling Texans sounded the bugle note and call of drum to arms he left his home and native State and fought with them for liberty. There are some yet living who marched with him under the Lone Star flag. With them he kept time to the wild music through the piney woods and prairies of this then vast wilderness to the field of glory, to die, if necessary, for freedom and for right. There may be those who stood guard with him in the rain and storm and under the silent stars. There are some, perhaps, who can remember the weary marches and the furrows and ravines run-



ning with blood; and there may be still alive a few who followed him as he led them between contending hosts and won the victory for Texas, who honored him while living and will never forget him, though dead.

## ROUTE OF CABEZA DE VACA IN TEXAS.

O. W. WILLIAMS.

There is no story of the Sixteenth century more romantic than that told in the "Naufragios" of Cabeza de Vaca. The hero starts out, armed in all the panoply of Sixteenth century warfare, to the discovery of an impossible El Dorado. He becomes a victim to cruel enemies, both of the earth and of the heavens; he suffers the horrors of shipwreck, cold, and starvation; he drags himself along painfully on a desert coast, torn by thorns, blistered by heat, ready to drop from starvation and exhaustion, and too plainly foredoomed to fall to the cruel caprices of savage masters. From this tragic end he is saved by the sign of the cross, becomes a great "medicine man" among the savages, and finally gets back to his jealous countrymen, a naked king at the head of barbarian worshippers.

But, as customary in Nineteenth century romances as well as in those of the Sixteenth century, it has not been possible to locate this romance in its itinerary to any great degree of certainty. From the time when the survivors of the Narvaez expedition left a bay, supposed to be Tampa Bay, in their boats, whose "gunwales were not over one span above the water," until the naked remnant of three whites and a Barbary negro got to the State of Sonora, in Old Mexico, there is no natural object such as river, mountain, spring or plain mentioned in the account which we can positively identify. It is certain only that they voyaged west from Tampa Bay, necessarily hugging close to shore; that they were scattered and finally all shipwrecked by a storm; that they were in slavery among some coast tribes of Indians for about six years; that they escaped finally from them and started westward and in a course away from the sea; that they were passed from tribe to tribe as "medicine men," with a crowd of followers amounting at times to three or four thousand people; and that they finally got back to their countrymen near the present town of Culiacan, in Sonora, Old Mexico.

Now this uncertainty covers a space of time of more than six years, and of distance of more than two thousand miles. The country through which they made their way was certainly highly diversified, and they must have passed many remarkable and noticeable natural objects. Yet they made no record of any in such a way that we can identify them.

There are, however, some things which seem to me to offer explanations of this. For one thing, it is hardly to be expected that men whose daily life lay under a terrible uncertainty as to food, and to danger from the changing humors of savage masters, would be in condition to pay close attention to anything save the stern necessities fronting them. Thus keenness of perception would be blunted as to natural objects.

But it seems to me the explanation which deserves the most credit is that the report was made to their royal master, and, as every Spaniard knew, all his interest in new countries centered in two things, the finding of gold and the conversion of savages to the Catholic faith. Naturally these were the lines on which they made their report, and the description of natural objects was hardly germane to it. So the whole report was relative to the two points upon which the king was interested, except where there crops out the record of their terrible hardships; and, as these hardships were continuous, their hideous features appear almost involuntarily in every line.

As a result of this failure to closely describe the natural features of the countries through which they passed, the conjectures as to the line of travel from sea to sea are various. It has been maintained by some that they were shipwrecked east of the Mississippi, and that the survivors passed through Arkansas, the Indian Territory, New Mexico, and Arizona. Others have laid the entire route in Old Mexico. But the tendency at present seems to be to regard de Vaca's route as leaving the seashore in Texas, and passing west through Texas and Chihuahua. An article in the *Quarterly* for January, 1898, has taken the lead in figuring out his wanderings approximately upon the only basis open to us. It is the purpose of this paper to follow in the path thus laid out, as far as possible, and I trust that others will take up the work on the same line until there will be obtained at least a fair approximation to the route.

In de Vaca's accounts he relates that the tribes of Indians with whom he and the other Spaniards lived just prior to their escape to the West were in the habit of migrating at a certain season of the year to a part of the country where they lived on the fruit of the prickly pear cactus for a term of three months each year. On this, the article referred to reasons about as follows, substantially: The prickly pear is found over the Southern States and as far north as Illinois; but in order to satisfy the requirements of de Vaca's narrative a country must be found where the prickly pear ripens in great abundance, and endures so as to furnish food for Indians during three months of the year. This is not true of any country north of a line drawn, say, from Galveston to Eagle Pass, and is true of a large part of Texas lying south of that line. This reasoning gives us a northern limit to the location of de Vaca when his party started westward.

This conjecture seems to me to be reasonable. The only objection which I can imagine to be properly urged against the legitimate carrying out of this line of conjecture would be the contention that there may have been a change in the natural conditions of the country during the three hundred and fifty years which have elapsed since de Vaca passed through it. This objection as urged against the defining of the cactus country would also apply to some points to which I wish to call attention, and I shall consider its value in advance.

There are three ways in which I can imagine a considerable change in the natural productions of this country to have been brought about. There are probably others, but none, I think, so likely to work in this country as those which I will mention.

First to be considered is the probability of a change brought about by an increase or decrease in the rainfall or the humidity of the climate. As to this, I am not aware of anything of record to show that there has been any material change in Texas during the past three hundred and fifty years. Certainly there is no evidence to show that a climatic change has occurred great enough to drive out any plant or animal, or to materially alter the habitat of any such. Irrigation was necessary in parts of the State when first settled by the Spaniards, just as it is necessary at this day. True, in Southwest Texas farming without irrigation is now practiced in places where in the earliest settlements it was carried on by irriga-

tion solely, but it does not follow that the same kind of farming could not have been successfully carried on there from the beginning of the settlement. The encroachment of farming upon lands in the United States formerly considered arid, has not been due, according to the authorities generally, to an increased rainfall, but is attributed mainly to improved methods of tillage. Besides this, the generally received opinion among scientists at the present day seems to be that while the world is losing its humidity, it is doing so exceedingly gradually. The rate of decrease is so small as not to be perceptible in a term of three hundred and fifty years. Hence, unless some special cause of change of humidity has operated, such as a change in the limits of the Gulf of Mexico, or in the course of the trade winds, the territory suited to the growth of the cactus in large quantities is the same now as in de Vaca's day. So that the theory of scientists conforms to all the evidence that we can gather from the history of Texas during three hundred and fifty years.

But, secondly, a change of habitat for plants and animals may have been brought about by the agency of fire. De Vaca tells us that a favorite way of catching game, resorted to by the Indians, was to set fire to large scopes of country. This must necessarily have destroyed some vegetation, possibly some animal life, and most certainly a great deal of insect life, and if persisted in for years must have to some extent disturbed the existing equilibrium between the different forms of the vegetable and animal worlds. At the present day in West Texas the effect of fire is shown in changing the character of our grasses, and in some places certain varieties of grasses have been completely destroyed and replaced by others. In this case, however, it is not always easy to determine how far this change is due to fire, and how far it is due to the presence of stock grazing on the lands. According to my observation, cactus is not easily destroyed, and in my opinion in the recovery of vegetation after a fire the cactus would have a more dominant growth than before the fire.

If this be correct, the growth of the cactus was encouraged by the Indian practice of setting the country on fire, and as a consequence the cactus belt may be greater now and extending farther north than three hundred and fifty years ago. Or possibly the belt may remain now as it was then, the increase in cactus growth hav-

ing been coequal in all parts where the cactus grew and the Indians fired the country. But however that may be, it seems to me more probable that whatever effect fires might have in changing the character of the vegetation had been already long accomplished when de Vaca passed through Texas, as the Indian practice of firing the country for game must have been an exceedingly ancient one.

Thirdly, the coming of civilized man must have introduced some changes in the animal and vegetable forms in Texas. This would be more largely due to the introduction of the domestic animals, and the dissemination of foreign forms of vegetable life. In this connection I may here properly notice the increase in the growth of the mesquite tree. De Vaca speaks of this tree only in East Texas, and not far from the sea coast, yet it is now found probably from coast to coast. I have seen it make a very perceptible advance in the country west of the Pecos during the past fifteen years. Twenty years ago cattle in large numbers were first brought to this country and turned loose upon the range. Since then the mesquite has encroached on plains once destitute of it, and the result is commonly and reasonably attributed to the distribution of the seeds by cattle and horses, which are very partial to the mesquite bean.

But I am unable to see any effect of this kind, and most certainly none of this degree, upon the cactus. Practically it is only a few years since civilized man made his entrance into Texas, and there are living here now men whose memory goes back to a time when the cactus could have been very little influenced in its habitat by the coming of the civilized race. It is one of the most persistent, conservative, and hidebound of our native growths, giving way only with the greatest reluctance and holding grimly to its time-honored territory. The piñon tree, which will be brought into consideration later, has been up to the last thirty years out of direct contact with civilization, at least as far as it is known to exist in this State. Consequently it can not have been affected by it directly.

I have taken up these matters for discussion in order to show that it is not unreasonable to assume the situation and distribution of plants in this State to be very much the same now as in de Vaca's day, at least so far as the cactus and the piñon are concerned.

With this granted, I will take up de Vaca's march west from the cactus region.

Just before de Vaca escaped from the Indians and, with his three companions, commenced his march westward, he was at one of the summer stations where the Indians lived three months on the prickly pear fruit. Consequently he was, as figured out in the article above referred to, in the cactus region south of the line drawn from Galveston to Eagle Pass, and probably not far from the coast. Now of this country he says: "Cattle come as far as here. Three times I have seen them and eaten of their flesh." Then follows a clear description of the bison and its habits.

From the fact that he had seen the bison and eaten of it only three times during the six or seven years that he had remained in these parts we are led to conclude that the country from which he started on his march westward was at the extreme southern or southeastern limit of the range of the "buffalo," as it is commonly called. De Vaca says, "Cattle come as far as here," as if they did not go much, if any, farther. So, if we can determine what that limit was in 1535 anywhere in the cactus region, we can determine approximately de Vaca's position before commencing his western journey.

The nearest record in point of time and locality of which I have any knowledge is that left by La Salle's party when they attempted to settle at Fort St. Louis one hundred and fifty years afterwards. According to Parkman, Fort St. Louis was situated on Lavaca River, near Matagorda Bay. And the French were at this place in the summer of 1685, when buffalo were so abundant as to be what the Abbe Joutel called their "daily bread." So at that time the southeastern limit of the buffalo range must have been at least as far south as the Lavaca River. Now what difference is probable in this limit to the buffalo range between de Vaca's time and La Salle's time, one hundred and fifty years apart?

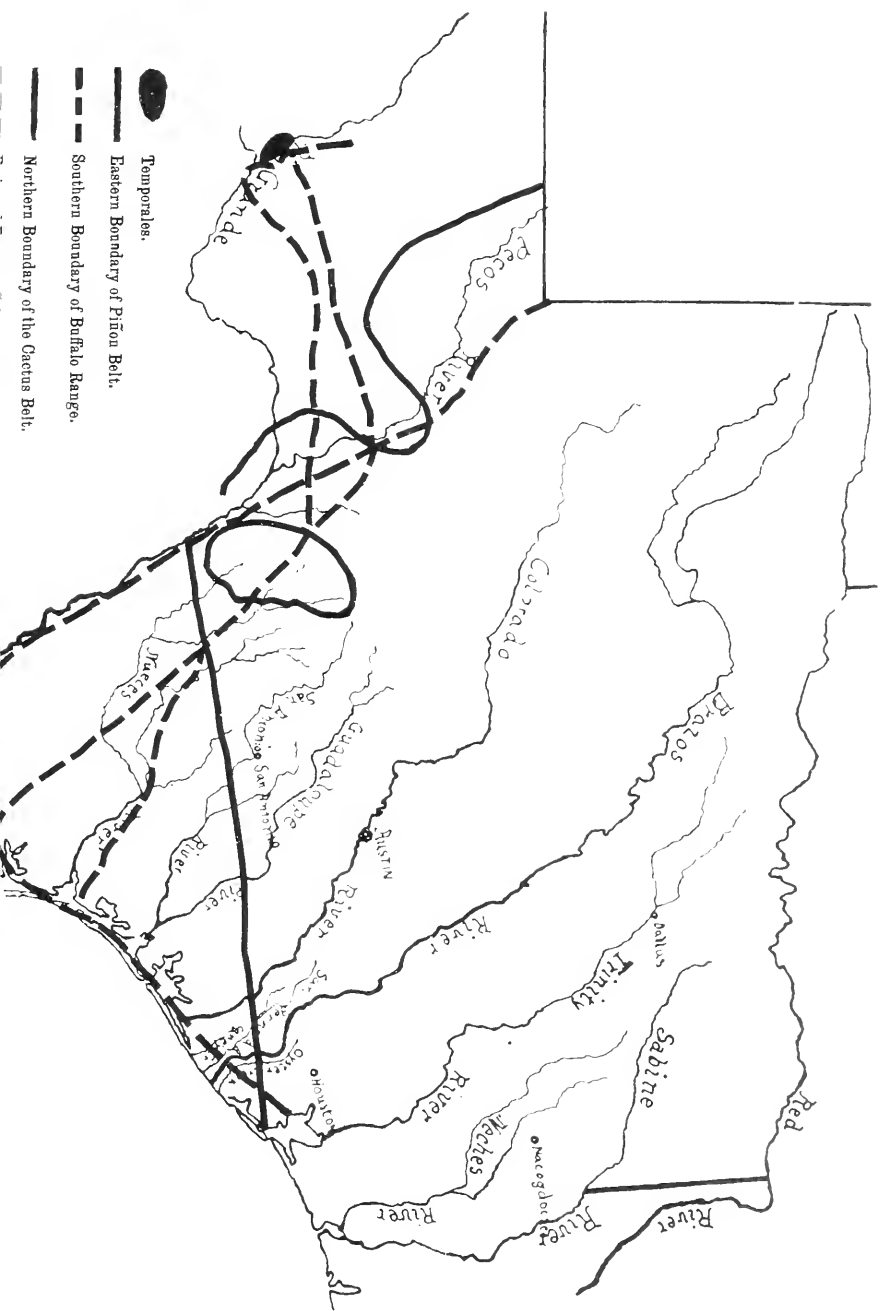
Those limits must have been originally set by natural conditions such as abundance or scarcity of grass and water, winter temperature, etc., and, while subject to yearly fluctuations caused by droughts, extensive fires, or severe winters, must have remained practically the same for a long period of time, unless the numbers of the buffalo had greatly increased or decreased. An increase in the numbers of the buffalo would have tended to drive them fur-

ther south in their winter journey in order to procure food. But as they did not get as far south as the Rio Grande, according to de Vaca's experience after he crossed the Pecos River, and as in the time of the later Spanish explorers they do not seem to have crossed the Rio Grande, it is highly probable that the southern limit of their annual migrations was the same during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth centuries. So I set down the southern and southeastern limits of the buffalo range in de Vaca's time as being the same as in La Salle's time, and as being most certainly south of the Lavaca River.

De Vaca then must have set out from a point south of the Lavaca River. I conclude also that this point must have been north of the Rio Grande. If he started from a point south of that river, it is difficult to believe that he could have crossed any "great river coming from the North," and such as he is afterward described as crossing, unless such crossing refers to the Rio Grande itself, which comes from the northwest and in parts even from the southwest until a point as far west as El Paso is reached.

With this granted, the next consideration is the line of travel. After making their escape from the Indians here the Spaniards marched a short distance to another tribe and concluded to winter there. They remained with them eight months until the mesquite bean ripened, when they took up their travels westward. The general course aimed at was toward the setting sun. This course could not be followed closely all day. Then too the Spaniards planned to travel from village to village, depending upon these villages for guides and food. This would certainly have made their course more or less erratic. I make their direction for several hundred miles to have been a little north of west, in spite of their determination to lay a course toward the setting sun. Had their course lain to the west or south of west, it would have carried them across the Rio Grande at a point where the river has a considerable volume, and I think they would have made an unmistakable record of the crossing. Two of their number were unable to swim and would have found trouble in crossing. Afterward when they came to a river—probably the same river much higher up, according to the general belief, and nothing like so large as in its lower stretches—which they forded, the water coming up to their arm-pits, that river de Vaca calls a "very great river."







After many days, some spent on the march, some at the villages, they arrived at "many houses on the banks of a beautiful river." The people ate prickly pears and the seeds of pine trees. "In that country were small pine trees, the cones like little eggs; but the seed is better than that of Castilla, as its husk is very thin, and while green is beat and made into balls to be eaten," etc. This seems clearly to be a description of what is known in West Texas as the piñon tree. It is often found on high, rocky points west of the Pecos River, but is found east of that river at only two points so far as I have been able to ascertain; one on the brakes or heads of small cañons near the old Pontoon Bridge crossing, the other in Edwards county on some of the small tributaries of Dry Devil's River. I am disposed to think the Spaniards must have seen the piñon in the latter place. Certainly the cactus is not found in any quantity in the former locality, and there is no "beautiful" river near, unless the term might be applied to Live Oak Creek.

I have heard it objected to this, that there is no stream in Edwards county worthy of being called a "beautiful river." In answer I will call attention to the fact that the use of the term *rio* (here translated *river*) by the Spanish in West Texas, Chihuahua, and New Mexico is not the same as the use to which the word *river* is put in English. *Rio* in Spanish has been applied to many streams of running water in this country, such as Rio Hondo, Rio Tulerosa, Rio Toyah, and Rio Comanche, which would be dignified to be called creeks. Of such streams I am told that Edwards county has several, and to the Spaniards they were "rios." This county, I am also, told, has prickly pear cactus in abundance, although not to the extent to which it is to be found further south and east.

After leaving this place they traveled through a country abounding in people and game. "Those having bows were not with us: they dispersed about the ridge in pursuit of deer, and at dark came bringing five or six for each of us, besides quail and other game." West of Edwards county lies a great limestone plateau, extending to a point eighty or ninety miles west of the Pecos River. It is cut up by cañons, the main cañons running north and south, and the lateral cañons coming from a little north of west and a little north of east. These lateral cañons would afford the natural route for these travelers, and to one accustomed to that country it would

be the reasonable expectation that deer hunters would hunt along the ridges at the sides of the cañons, where deer would be found lying in the shade of the cedar trees in the heat of the day.

Then again this plateau has on its surface a vast number of old rock heaps, commonly said in this country to have been used by Indians for roasting the sotol and maguey plant, as well as the fruits of the chase. During certain seasons of the year this country must have had a considerable Indian population, living on roasted sotol and venison. These seasons could only have come after heavy rains had stored up water in little earth or rock tanks. The heavy rains usually fall in that country from July to November, and it seems to have been in this time of the year that de Vaca and his comrades passed through.

Shortly afterwards they passed over "a great river coming from the north." I take this to have been the Pecos about forty miles above its junction with the Rio Grande. At the present day the Pecos carries very little water in its lower stretches during a great part of the year; and, while a Spaniard would unhesitatingly call it a river, he might pause before calling it a "great river." The scarcity of water at this day is due to a number of large irrigating canals built during the last ten years, which have almost drained the river. But when I first saw the Pecos it was a very different stream. In 1880 it was of very regular dimensions for three hundred miles above its mouth. It was generally from sixty-five to one hundred feet in width, from seven to ten feet deep, with a rapid current of a red cast, and fordable in very few places. This was probably what de Vaca saw, and to the Spaniards it was a "great river." Certainly no other stream in Chihuahua, West Texas or New Mexico can so correctly be called a "great river" unless it be the Rio Grande, and I shall now show that this river was probably passed soon afterwards.

After crossing this river they traveled eighty leagues before coming to a "very large river," which they forded, the water coming up to their breasts. This I take to have been the Rio Grande below Presidio del Norte. The distance assigned between the two rivers—eighty leagues—is too great for a direct line on the route which I have assigned to de Vaca. But I think their route must have been subject to very considerable deflections in order to obtain water, which is very scarce in that country. Besides, I am inclined to think that de Vaca has overstated distances more than

once. He had had for eight years no means of verifying his estimates of distances, and in this particular instance he had traveled over a desert country, where the Spaniards had suffered greatly both for food and water, and it would have been very natural for de Vaca to have had an exaggerated idea of this distance.

After crossing the river they seem to have left it for a short distance, coming to it again at a settlement where there were "fixed habitations." Some twenty to forty miles below Presidio del Norte it would have been impossible to travel along the banks of that river, which would account for the deflection. Somewhere in here they must have crossed the river again, as we find them shortly afterwards going up on the north bank. To reconcile my route with the strict letter of the narration, they must have crossed the Rio Grande above the mouth of the Concho river, and afterwards have come to and traveled along the north bank of the Concho river in Chihuahua.

I have preferred to believe that they crossed the Rio Grande again to the north bank without there being any record of it for the following reasons: A short distance above the "fixed habitations" they came to an Indian town, where beans, pumpkins, and corn were cultivated. I am inclined to place this near the present town of Presidio. I am led to this principally on account of the mention made by de Vaca of their manner of planting corn. Irrigation is necessary at the present day—and as far back as we have any record—to farming in all of West Texas and New Mexico. But in the neighborhood of Presidio, corn has been planted from time immemorial in "temporales," that is, in sandy stretches near the river. It is not irrigated, but depends upon rain and sub-irrigation from the river to bring it to fruitage. This is the only place in all this country where I can learn of corn being planted in this way. Now the people at this point as described by de Vaca begged the Spaniards to tell the sky to rain that they might plant their corn, and told them that the "rain had failed for two years and that the moles had eaten up their seed, etc." Evidently they must have planted in "temporales," and not have used irrigation.

De Vaca says that he called these people the "Cow" nation because "most of the cattle are slaughtered in their neighborhood, and along up the river for over fifty leagues they destroy great numbers." Now apparently he means this to apply to the people who planted the corn. If so the river could hardly have been the

Rio Grande, and still less could it have been the Concho. For according to Bandelier and others who have examined the records of the early Spanish explorers, many of whom passed up the Concho and Rio Grande, the buffalo did not frequent the Rio Grande valley nor that of the Concho, while they did roam on the Pecos river in great numbers.

I think this statement must have been intended to refer to all the people he met from the Pecos to the Rio Grande. The Indians from the Rio Grande probably went off every fall and winter to hunt buffalo on the Pecos River, just as I find in 1880 Mexicans from the Rio Grande valley hunting buffaloes for the hides and dried meat away out on the Staked Plains in Texas. De Vaca says that they were away hunting the buffalo at the time he passed through their villages. So I am led to think that the river on which they were hunting was the Pecos, while the villages themselves were on the Rio Grande. De Vaca may easily have misunderstood the statements of the women and old men of the villages on this point.

I must here part company with de Vaca. My knowledge of the country through which he must have traveled extends no further. I trust that others will take the discussion up, and that we may have the benefits of the knowledge and suggestions of many on this interesting chapter of early history.

## BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

The April number of the American Historical Review contains: *The Recantations of the Early Lollards*, by Edward P. Cheyney; *Napoleon's Plans for a Colonial System*, by William M. Sloane; *Holmes vs. Walton: The New Jersey Precedent*, by Austin Scott; *The Search for the Venezuela-Guiana Boundary*, by Geo. L. Burr; and *The Siege of Charleston; Journal of Captain Peter Russell, 1780*.

The case of *Holmes vs. Walton* is believed by Mr. Scott to be the earliest case in which the doctrine now generally accepted in America of judicial guardianship of organic law is distinctly affirmed.

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Prof. F. L. Riley, of the University of Mississippi, has, in the Publication of the Historical Society of Mississippi for 1899, an interesting monograph, reviewing the scientific services of Sir William Dunbar, who settled in Mississippi in 1787, and of whom it is stated that he helped to survey the boundary between Louisiana and Mississippi; first directed the attention of the world to the manufacture of cotton-seed oil; made a critical scientific study of the Mississippi river and its Delta; and contributed much to the scientific knowledge of other subjects.

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The April number of the publications of the Southern History Association is especially rich in Texas matter. *Some Difficulties of a Texas Empresario*, by Lester G. Bugbee; and the *Texas Expedition Against Mier*, by Thomas J. Green, being two of its four articles. The *Personnel of the North Carolina Convention of 1788*, is of some importance, as one of the sources of the history of that state and of the United States.

## NOTES AND FRAGMENTS.

DON CARLOS DE SIGUENZA.—I have read with pleasure the translation of the "Letter of Don Damian Manzanet to Don Carlos de Siguenza Relative to the Discovery of the Bay of Espiritu Santo," by Miss Lilia M. Casis, in the April number of *THE QUARTERLY*. It is a step in the right direction to develop the real facts, by exciting a spirit of investigation, and it may finally lead to a collection of all the official reports on the subject. Of course the reverend writer manifests that same disposition seen in most of the writings of the early fathers, that is, exaggeration of their own doings and depreciation and even misrepresentation of all done by the military. One of the chief excellences of Miss Lilia M. Casis' translation is her faithful rendition of the original.

In this connection some facts relative to Don Carlos de Siguenza may be of interest to the readers of the *Quarterly*.

The Marqués de la Laguna was succeeded by Don Melchor Portocarrero Laso de la Vega, Conde de la Manclova, who reached the City of Mexico November 30, 1686. He it was who sent the two frigates to examine the Gulf coast as far as Apalaches for French settlements, on account of notices just previously brought in by the Spanish flotilla called Armada de Barlovento, that had been sent out by the Marqués de Laguna, and had captured a French ship, and learned from one of the prisoners that La Salle had gone to settle the coast of the Mexican Gulf. The two frigates executed the orders of the Conde de Monclova, going even beyond the forest of Apalaches, without finding any Frenchmen, but finding several wrecks of French ships. This viceroy, Conde de Monclova, held the reins of government until November, 1688, when he delivered them to Don Gaspar de Sandoval, Silva y Mendoza, Conde de Galve, said to be thirtieth viceroy of New Spain.

This Conde de Galve it was who sent the expedition to settle and garrison Pensacola, under command of the able mariner Don Andres Pez, and appointed the celebrated Mexican mathematician and poet, Don Carlos de Siguenza, to accompany the expedition, which honorable charge the illustrious Mexican accepted with pleasure. The work lasted until the arrival of the forces to garri-



son, and the families to settle, the place in 1696; and it may be inferred that Siguenza returned in the Armada de Barlovento, which carried the troops and families over. But it is not to be affirmed with certainty just when this famous character did go back to Mexico, without consulting the archives containing the report of the armada on its return in 1696.

The fact of the letters being addressed to Don Carlos de Siguenza is not a conclusive evidence of its genuineness, or of its being written by one who accompanied Don Alonso de Leon to where the mission of San Francisco was founded. But by comparing the letter with the military reports of the expeditions, a fair conclusion may be reached.

Of course the original discovery of Espiritu Santo Bay must have been before Fra Francisco Gomara wrote his history, which came out in 1553, about 133 years before the Conde de Galve arrived in Mexico, and the title, "*Discovery of Bay Espiritu Santo,*" is scarcely appropriate without the addition of, "*by Land.*"

All the peculiar prejudices of the French, English, and Americans against the Spanish records made as the events occurred can be answered and brushed away, by stripping their accounts of what has been written by those whose minds were bent upon establishing that La Salle was the first who discovered the Bay of Espiritu Santo, and called it St. Bernard.

That portion of Mexican history covering the years from 1680 to 1720 is so interwoven with the history of Texas during the same period that its careful examination from an unbiased standpoint would develop much truth yet concealed from the average reader, and such a work is worthy of the consideration of the Association as well as that of the State of Texas.

BETHEL COOPWOOD.

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THE NAME ALAMO.—In the last number of THE QUARTERLY, Lester G. Bugbee<sup>1</sup> makes a suggestion regarding the origin of the name Alamo as applied to the Mission Church of San Antonio de Valero, the "Cradle of Texas Liberty." As far as the writer's own investigations have carried him, it is the only *hypothesis*, if so it

<sup>1</sup>THE QUARTERLY, pp. 245-247, No. 3, Vol. II.

can be called, worthy the consideration of the historian. The result of some researches made in the old records of the Mission and those of the Company of San Carlos there stationed will throw additional light on the subject.

The mission of San Francisco Solano, known later as the "Mission del Alamo," was founded, so state the records,<sup>2</sup> on the Rio Grande in the year 1703. In 1712 it was transferred to a place called San Ildephonso holding that invocation. Thence it was retransferred in 1713 to the Rio Grande and called San José. In the year 1718 on the first day of May "this mission on account of the scarcity of water at the pueblo of San Joseph, was transferred to San Antonio de Valero by order of his excellency the Marquis of Valero, Vice-Roy of New Spain, the mission being under the direction of Fray Antonio de San Buenaventura y Olivarez, and the officer Don Martin de Alarcon, Governor of these provinces of the Kingdom of the New Philipppines."

Shea states<sup>3</sup> that "the Mission of San Antonio was founded on the San Pedro, but was subsequently transferred to the Alamo, and its name has prevailed over that of the city subsequently founded."

By order of the Rt. Rev. Andres de Llanos y Valdés, the Bishop of the Diocese, given on the 20th of January, 1793, the Pueblo of San Antonio de Valero was aggregated to the Parish of San Fernando and Presidio of San Antonio de Bexar. The records of the Mission were transferred to the Parish priest, Fr. Th. Francesco Lopez on the 22d of the same month; and the Mission of San Antonio de Valero had ceased to exist.

The records waver in the appellations given to the Mission. On the 10th of March, 1710, Fray Juan Joseph de Soto calls it "esta mission de la advocacion de San Francisco Solano;" May 12th, 1712, "esta mission de la advocacion del Sr. Sn. Joseph;" but on the 20th of June, 1712, de Soto again calls it Sn. Francisco Solano. On February 7, 1713, he says: "Yo el Fr. Joseph de Soto ministro actual de esta mission del Sr. S. Joseph é Yglesia del S. S. Francisco Solano." However, in 1718 Fr. Miguel Nuñez calls it by the old appellation "esta Mission de San Francisco Solano Sita en San Antto de Valero." At last on the 5th of July of the same year we

<sup>2</sup>In the "*Archives of the Diocese (Catholic) of San Antonio.*"

<sup>3</sup>SHEA, *Hist. Cath. Ch. in U. S.*, I. 499.

find it "Mission de San Antonio de Valero," a name it retained as long as the mission existed; not once is it called "Alamo" in the records.

From the registers<sup>4</sup> of the "Segunda Compania de Sn. Carlos de Parras" we glean the following facts: the first entry is on the 6th of February, 1788. It took place in the "Sta. Yglesia, Parroquial del Pueblo del Sr. Sn. Joseph y Santiago del Pueblo del Alamo," showing that the appellation Alamo pertained to the Company from its inception many years before it was located in San Antonio. Beginning with the 17th of June, 1793, the additional title de Parras is added. On the 21st of March, 1797, we read "en esta Sta. Yglesia Parroquial Pueblo del Sr. Sn. Josef y Santiago al Alamo Ramo perteneciente al Pueblo de Sta. Maria de las Parras."

In January, 1798, the company is stated as being "en el Precidio Reformado del Sr. Sn. Miguel de Serro Gordo Ramo perteneciente al Re. de Nra. Sra. de las Mercedes del Oro." During the same year a baptism took place (No. 105) at Cañala Seca; then the company seems to have taken up its station at Chihuahua. The location is termed "Parroquia Castrense a Sn. Carlos; Villa Sn. Gerónimo;" "la Villa de San Gerónimo Ayuda de Parroquia de la Villa Chihuahua." This appellation is retained until February, 1805.

On the 23d of September of that year baptisms are performed "en la Yglesia Parroquial de San Fernando Real Precidio de San Antonio de Bejar." It seems the Sacrament of baptism was administered only in the church of San Fernando, the parish church of the town; never in the old Mission church.

The company, however, was located "en la Mission de Balero, jurisdiccion de Sn. Antonio de Bexar." The Record closes in 1825. Since the company migrated from place to place it was natural that its secondary appellation should change with its location. It is equally evident that the company took its first name, as given in the entry of June 17th, 1793, from the town of Alamos<sup>5</sup> de Parras near the Lade de Parras in the southern part of the State of Coahuila, Mexico.

EDMOND J. P. SCHMITT.

<sup>4</sup>Libro en que se asient, los Baptismos en la Segunda Compañia Volante de Sn. Carlos de Parras (cita en la Pueblo del Alamo) siendo Capellan de ella el Br. Dn. Manuel Saenz de Juan Gorena y Comienza en primero de Marzo de 1788.

<sup>5</sup>See note 4.

ERRATA IN TRANSLATION OF MANZANET MS.—Through the kindness of Mr. Eugene A. Giraud, of Austin, my attention has been called to some mistakes and oversights in the Translation of the Manzanet MS. in the April number, which I wish to correct as follows:

P. 292, l. 3, for "Guasteza" read Guasteca.

P. 294, l. 13, read one hundred and fifty loads of flour, two hundred cows, four hundred horses, fifty long guns . . . . .

Mr. Giraud suggests that the word "morillos" in the original document, p. 272 of the April QUARTERLY, should be translated *rafters* instead of *pebbles*. He claims that the word "morillos," with one r has the meaning *rafters* in Mexico, while "morrillos," with two r's, is used for *pebbles*. A careful examination of the usage of the scribe will show that spelling alone will not give conclusive evidence here. I am not acquainted with the Mexican use of the word mentioned by Mr. Giraud, though I know that *morillos* is used to mean *andirons* in Spain. However, the translation "a small superstructure of rafters, very skillfully arranged" makes better sense than that which I gave, p. 303, l. 24, 25, and is acceptable on the supposition that the word *morillos* has the local signification *rafters* in addition to the meanings given in the standard dictionaries.

LILLIA M. CASIS.

## AFFAIRS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

From the Treasurer's report it will be seen that there was a considerable deficit for the year just ended. This was caused by the tardiness of members in paying their dues. There has lately been a revival of interest in the Association and an increase of its membership which promises to extinguish all indebtedness in a very short time; but in order to assure this result a plan is on foot to secure the consent of the members to an arrangement whereby they shall be drawn upon, so long as they retain their membership, for the amount of their dues at the proper time each year. The expense will be borne by the Association, and the method will be more convenient and satisfactory both to the members and to the Council. If you receive a circular asking your agreement, please answer favorably at once. This will help to make the work of the Association more useful and more permanent.

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The members of the Association, and all who have an interest in Texas history, are to be congratulated upon the appointment of Judge C. W. Raines to the place of librarian in the department of Agriculture, Insurance, Statistics, and History. He is thoroughly fitted for the place and loves the work and will do it well.

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The Council expects shortly to issue a circular to the people of Texas asking for an endowment for the Association. If as much as twenty-five hundred dollars can be obtained, it will absolutely secure the continuance of the work on its present basis. Upwards of three hundred dollars has been already subscribed, in sums ranging from twenty-five to one hundred dollars, payable when the entire amount is secured. The Council pledges itself to invest the money as securely as possible, and to use only the interest to pay current expenses. Send your subscriptions to the Treasurer, Lester G. Bugbee, Austin, Texas.

## REPORT OF THE THIRD ANNUAL MEETING, JUNE 15, 1899.

The third annual meeting of the Association was held in room 9 of the main building of the University of Texas, Austin, June 15, 1899, at 10 a. m. The president's annual address,—a critical examination of the French claim to Texas,—was delivered by Hon. Dudley G. Wooten, President of the Association. Mr. H. G. Askew followed with a paper on "Austin as a Place of Historical Interest." "The Closing Hours of the Confederacy" by Hon. John H. Reagan and "The Battle of San Jacinto" by Mrs. Mary Autry Greer were read by title.

Officers for the ensuing year were then elected. The following is the complete list, including those whose terms did not expire in June:

Hon. John H. Reagan, *President*.

*Vice Presidents.*

Hon. Guy M. Bryan.	Ex-Gov. F. R. Lubbock.
Mrs. Julia Lee Sinks.	Hon. T. S. Miller.

Prof. George P. Garrison, *Recording Secretary and Librarian*.

*Executive Council.*

[In addition to the officers named above.]

Judge C. W. Raines, 1902.	Hon. Beauregard Bryan, 1903.
Prof. R. L. Batts, 1901.	Mrs. Dora Fowler Arthur, 1902.
Judge Z. T. Fulmore, 1900.	Mrs. Bride Neill Taylor, 1901.
Prof. W. J. Battle, 1904.	Dr. Rufus C. Burleson, 1900.

[Dates indicate expiration of term.]

Lester G. Bugbee, *Corresponding Secretary and Treasurer*.

*Publication Committee.*

Hon. John H. Reagan.

Prof. George P. Garrison.	Mrs. Bride Neill Taylor.
Judge Z. T. Fulmore.	Judge C. W. Raines.

Many new members were elected; the following were added to the list of Fellows:

Judge Bethel Coopwood, Laredo.	Rev. Edmond J. P. Schmitt, San
Prof. John C. Townes, Austin.	Antonio.
Miss Lilia M. Casis, Austin.	Mr. W. F. McCaleb, Carrizo Springs.

The Association is to be congratulated upon its flourishing condition at the end of its third year. There are now 486 members, not including those elected at the June meeting; the Association has been heartily endorsed by the Texas Veterans' Association, and by the Daughters of the Republic; THE QUARTERLY has been well received by the historical publications of the

United States; the library is steadily growing by gift and exchange; the nucleus of a collection of documents, newspapers, and historical relics has been gathered; the list of members has grown and is still growing very rapidly; altogether, the prospect is most hopeful for a great revival of interest in Texas history.

The following leading articles have been published in THE QUARTERLY during the year just closed:

Life and Services of O. M. Roberts.....	Dudley G. Wooten.
The Old Fort at Anahuac.....	Mrs. Adele B. Looscan.
Sketch of the Development of the Judicial System of Texas, I, .....	J. C. Townes.
H. P. Bee.....	F. R. Lubbock.
The Cherokee Nation of Indians.....	V. O. King.
Jottings from the Old Journal of Littleton Fowler, .....	Mrs. Dora Fowler Arthur.
The Capitals of Texas.....	O. M. Roberts.
Rutersville College.....	Mrs. Julia Lee Sinks.
Sketch of the Development of the Judicial System of Texas, II, .....	John C. Townes.
Enduring Laws of the Republic of Texas, II.....	C. W. Raines.
Notes on the History of La Bahfa del Espíritu Santo....	Bethel Coopwood.
Early Experiences in Texas.....	Mrs. Rosa Kleberg.
The "Prison Journal" of Stephen F. Austin.....	
Captain Adolphus Sterne.....	W. P. Zuber.
The Founding of the First Texas Municipality.....	I. J. Cox.
Life of German Pioneers in Early Texas.....	Caroline von Hinueber.
Two Letters from a Mier Prisoner.....	
Descubrimiento de la Bahfa del Espfritu Santo.....	Damian Manzanet.
Translation of Above.....	Miss Lilia M. Casis.
The Battle of Gonzales.....	Miles S. Bennet.

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#### CONSTITUTION OF THE ASSOCIATION.

ARTICLE I.—NAME.—This Society shall be called the Texas State Historical Association.

ART. II.—OBJECTS.—The objects of the Association shall be, in general, the promotion of historical studies; and, in particular, the discovery, collection, preservation, and publication of historical material, especially such as relates to Texas.

ART. III.—MEMBERSHIP.—The Association shall consist of Members, Fellows, Life Members, and Honorary Life Members.

(a) *Members.* Persons recommended by the Executive Council and elected by the Association may become Members.

(b) *Fellows.* Members who show, by published work, special aptitude for historical investigation may become Fellows. Thirteen Fellows shall be elected by the Association when first organized, and the body

thus created may thereafter elect additional Fellows on the nomination of the Executive Council. The number of Fellows shall never exceed Fifty.

(c) *Life Members.* Such benefactors of the Association as shall pay into its treasury at one time the sum of fifty dollars (\$50), or shall present to the Association an equivalent in books, MSS., or other acceptable matter, shall be classed as Life Members.

(d) *Honorary Life Members.* Persons who rendered eminent service to Texas previous to annexation may become Honorary Life Members upon being recommended by the Executive Council and elected by the Association.

ART. IV.—OFFICERS.—The affairs of the Association shall be administered by a President, four Vice-Presidents, a Recording Secretary and Librarian, a Corresponding Secretary and Treasurer and an Executive Council.

The President, Vice-Presidents, Recording Secretary and Librarian, and Corresponding Secretary and Treasurer shall be elected annually by the Association from among the Fellows.

The Executive Council, a majority of which shall constitute a quorum, shall consist of the following:

The President, four Vice-Presidents, Librarian of the Association, State Librarian, three Fellows, five Members.

The Association, immediately after organizing, shall elect three Fellows to serve on the Executive Council one, two, and three years, respectively, the term of each to be decided by lot. Thereafter, one Fellow shall be elected annually by the Association for the term of three years.

The Association, immediately after organizing, shall likewise elect five members to serve on the Executive Council one, two, three, four, and five years, respectively, the term of each to be decided by lot. Thereafter, one Member shall be elected annually by the Association for the term of five years.

ART. V.—DUES.—Each member shall pay annually into the treasury of the Association the sum of two dollars.

Each fellow shall pay annually into the treasury of the Association the sum of five dollars.

Life Members and Honorary Life Members shall be exempt from all dues.

ART. VI.—PUBLICATION COMMITTEE.—A publication committee, consisting of five persons, shall have the sole charge of the selection and editing of matter for publication. The President and Librarian of the Association shall be *ex-officio* members of this committee; the remaining three members shall be chosen annually by the Fellows from the Executive Council.

ART. VII.—AMENDMENTS.—Amendments to this Constitution shall become operative after being recommended by the Executive Council and approved by two-thirds of the entire membership of the Association, the vote being taken by letter ballot.



## TREASURER'S REPORT FOR 1898-99.

## RECEIPTS.

Balance on hand at last report.....	\$ 38 96
7 membership dues for year ending June, 1898.....	15 00
8       "       "       December, 1898.....	16 00
26       "       "       March, 1899.....	52 00
115       "       "       June, 1899.....	229 95
29       "       "       December, 1899.....	58 00
2       "       "       March, 1900.....	4 00
4       "       "       June, 1900.....	8 00
1 fellowship       "       March, 1898.....	5 00
3 fellowships       "       March, 1899.....	15 00
3 fellowships       "       June, 1899.....	13 00
Sale of Quarterly.....	19 60
Advertisements.....	18 50
Deficit.....	165 07
Total .....	\$ 658 08

## EXPENDITURES.

Vouchers	Date.		
	1898		
No. 1	July 18	Maverick-Clarke Litho Co.— 500 circulars, \$4.00; 200 notices of election, \$2.50 .....	\$ 6 50
2	July 19	U. S. post office— 250 2-cent stamps.....	5 00
3	July 23	H. P. Reynolds— Clerical help.....	6 30
4	July —	U. S. post office— 250 2-cent stamps.....	5 00
5	Sept. 22	City National Bank— 25 internal revenue stamps (2 cent).....	50
6	Aug. 15	Wells Fargo & Co.— Express charges on package.....	1 90
7	Sept. 23	University Book Store— Stamps.....	5 00
8	Sept. 23	Ben C. Jones & Co.— Payment on bill ( <i>see voucher 16a</i> ).....	90 00
9	Oct. 12	Eugene C. Barker— Clerical help, \$4.65; stamps, \$0.75.....	5 40
10	Oct. 18	W. E. Collard— Refunded.....	2 00
11	Oct. 17	Ben C. Jones & Co.— Payment on bill ( <i>see voucher 16a</i> ).....	50 00
12	Oct. 22	Ben C. Jones & Co.— Payment on bill ( <i>see voucher 16a</i> )... ..	20 00
13	Nov. 8	Corner Book and Stationery Co.— 3 letter files, \$1.35; tray, \$1.50.....	2 85
14	Nov. 17	University Book Store— Stamps .....	6 20
15	Nov. 18	Ben C. Jones & Co.— Payment on bill ( <i>see voucher 16a</i> ).....	40 00
16	Dec. 7	Ben C. Jones & Co.— Payment on bill ( <i>see voucher 16a</i> ).....	23 45
16a	Nov. 12	Ben C. Jones & Co.— 800 copies 117-page Quarterly (July)\$213.15; stamps and drayage, \$7.30 ( <i>see vouchers</i> 8, 11, 12, 15 and 16).....\$220.45*	

\* The sum of vouchers 8, 11, 12, 15, 16 is \$223.45, a mistake in the bill of Ben C. Jones & Co. of \$3.00, in favor of the Association. This overcharge will be corrected in the next report.

## EXPENDITURES—continued.

Vouchers	Date.		
	1898		
17	Dec. 21	University Book Store— Stamps, \$3.00; drayage 25c; stationery, 10c.....	\$ 3 35
18	Nov. 12	Ben C. Jones & Co.— Bill for material bought and printing done at various dates: 1000 envelopes (June 15), \$2.50; 1200 heads and 800 half-sheet heads, \$5.75; 500 envelopes, \$1.50; 750 manila wrappers, \$2.00; 200 manila wrap- pers, \$1.00; 700 cards printed and 200 blank, \$4.75; 300 cards, \$1.50; 1000 en- velopes, \$2.50; 900 manila wrappers, \$2.45.....	23 95
	1899		
19	Feb. 10	Ben C. Jones & Co.— Payment on bill ( <i>see voucher 24</i> ).....	25 00
20	Feb. 10	Austin Photo Engraving Co.— Zinc etching.....	1 50
21	Jan. 28	City National Bank— 50 internal revenue stamps (2-cent).....	1 00
21a	Feb. 20	Ben C. Jones & Co.— 1200 copies January QUARTERLY.....	121 93
22	Feb. 21	Eugene C. Barker— Clerical work, commission on securing ad- vertisements.....	8 75
23	Feb. 25	University Book Store— Stationery, 10c; stamps, \$10.00.....	10 10
24	Feb. 20	Ben C. Jones & Co.— November QUARTERLY, \$120.25, less amount paid ( <i>see voucher 19</i> ) \$25.00.....\$95.25 Interest on note given for \$95.25 to B. C. Jones, Feb. 20 to Apl. 14..... 1.00	96 25
25	May 15	University Book Store— Stamps \$3.00; stationery, 5c; stamps, \$1.00; stamps, \$6.00; stationery, 20c.....	10 25
26	May 31	University Book Store— Stamps, \$3.00; stationery, 10c; stamps, 60c	3 70
27	June 7	Von Boeckmann, Schutze & Co.— 150 sheets of board cut into cards, \$3.00; 4500 copies of constitution, etc., \$45.00; drayage, 50c.....	48 50
28	June 9	University Book Store— Stamps.....	10 00
29	June 8	Ben C. Jones & Co.— 3500 wrappers, \$3.25; 3000 envelopes, \$5.60; 3000 application slips, \$4.00; 1000 appli- cation slips, \$2.25; 600 programs, \$2.85...	17 95
30	June 14	E. W. Winkler— Clerical work.....	5 75
		Total.....	\$ 658 08

Respectfully submitted,

LESTER G. BUGBEE, Treasurer.

Approved, July 21, 1899.

C. W. RAINES, }	Auditing Committee.
R. L. BATTS. }	

# LIBRARIAN'S REPORT FOR 1898-99.

## ACCESSIONS DURING THE YEAR.

Author.	Title.	Vols.	Pamps.	Donor.
Jordan, David Starr.....	Annual Report of Secretary to Board of Regents of University of California, June, 1897.		1	University of California.
	Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Meeting of the Daughters of the Republic, 1898.		1	Daughters of the Republic.
	Lest We Forget—Address to Graduating Class of 1898 at Leland Stanford, Jr., University.		1	Leland Stanford, Jr., Univ.
	Dedication of Spalding's Museum-Library, Athens, Ga.		1	The Library.
	Proceedings of Texas Veterans' Association—Twenty-fourth Annual Reunion, 1897.		1	The Association.
	Ibid.—Twenty-fifth Annual Reunion, 1898 .....	1	1	The Association.
	Publications of Southern History Association, Vol. II. Subject Catalogue of Books in Reference Library of Toronto Public Library.	1	1	Toronto Public Library.
	Statistical Year-Book of Canada for 1897.....	1	1	(Canada) Dept. Agriculture.
	History, Constitution, and By-Laws of the State Historical Society of Colorado.		1	The Society.
	Report of the Historical and Natural History Society of Colorado, 1889-90.		1	The Society.
Lyman, Horace S..... Smith, James P .....	Report of the Historical and Natural History Society of Colorado, 1888.		1	The Society.
	Semi-Centennial History of Oregon.....		1	The University of Oregon.
	Development of Lytoceras and Phylloceras.....		1	Leland Stanford, Jr., Univ.
Francis, John W .....	Semi-Centennial Celebration of New York Historical Society.		1	The Historical Society of New York.
	New York During the Last Half Century.....		1	"

## LIBRARIAN'S REPORT—continued.

Author.	Title.	Vols.	Pamps.	Donor.
Jay, John.....	Charter and By-Laws of the New York Historical Society.		1	The Historical Society of New York.
King, Hon. John Alsop.....	Peace Negotiations of 1782 and 1783.....		1	"
Winsor, Justin.....	The Framing of the Federal Constitution, and Causes Leading Thereto.		1	"
	Commemoration of the Conquest of New Netherland.		1	"
	Cabot, and the Transmission of English Power in America.		1	"
Stevens, John Austin.....	Memoir of William Kelby.....		1	"
Hill, R. T., and Vaughan, T. W.	Geology: The Edwards Plateau and Rio Grande Plain.		1	Department of Interior.
	Yale University Catalogue, 1898-99.....	1		Yale University.
	Report of Commissioner of Education, 1896-97, Vol. 2.	1		Department of Education.
Bray, William L.....	Annual List of Books Added to Public Library of Boston, 1897-98.		1	Boston Public Library.
Lee, Susan Pendleton.....	Geographical Distribution of the Frankeniaceae.....		1	The Author.
	A Brief History of the United States.....		1	The Author.
	Eighth Biennial Report of the Regents of the University of Texas.		1	University of Texas.
Brooks, Elizabeth.....	Prominent Women of Texas.....	1		The Author.
Blair, Emma Helen.....	Catalogue of Newspaper Files in Library of Wisconsin Historical Society.		1	Wisconsin Historical Society.
	Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board of Regents of University of California, Year Ending June, 1898.		1	University of California.
	Report of Commissioner of Education, 1896-97, Vol. 1.	1		Department of Education.

Author.	Title.	Vols.	Pamps.	Donor.
Tyler, Lyon G.....	Letters and Times of the Tylers.....	3		The Author.
Tyler, Lyon G.....	Parties and Patronage in the United States.....	1		"
Powell, J. W., Director...	Second Annual Report Bureau of Ethnology.....	1	1	Department of Interior.
Poindexter, Chas.....	Captain John Smith and his Critics. ....		1	Richmond College.
Buck, Rev. Chas. E.....	Historical Sermon at Centennial Celebration.....		1	The Publisher.
	Forty-Sixth Annual Report of the Boston Public Library.			The Boston Public Library.
	The Unveiling of the Monument to the Mecklenberg Declaration of Independence.	1		North Carolina Monument Association.
	Catalogue and Announcements of the University of Virginia, 1897-98.	1		The University of Virginia.
Wrong, G. M., Editor.....	Review of the Historical Publications Relating to Canada.		3	The University of Toronto.
	Census Returns of Des Moines County, Iowa, 1836.....		1	The Historical Department of Iowa.
Oman, C. W. C.....	Scrap Book: Newspaper Clippings.....	1		Mrs. A. J. Holland.
Sayce, A. H.....	A History of Greece.....	1		Miss Brownie Ponton.
Montgomery, D. H.....	Ancient Empires of the East.....	1		"
	Leading Facts of English History.....	1		"
	Proceedings of New England Historic Genealogical Society—Annual Meeting, 1899.		1	The Society.
	Tenth Annual Report—Statistics of Railways in the United States.	1		Interstate Commerce Commission.
	Leland Stanford, Jr., University Register for 1898-99.		1	The University.
	Annual Report of Buffalo Historical Society, 1898.....		1	The Society.
Balch, Thomas Willing..	The Brooke Family of Whitechurch, Hampshire, England.	1		The Author.

## LIBRARIAN'S REPORT—continued.

Author.	Title.	Vols.	Pamps.	Donor.
Rodgers, Arthur .....	Commencement Address (1883), University of California.		1	University of California.
Baker, Geo. A. ....	The St. Joseph-Kankakee Portage.....		1	Northern Indiana Hist. So.
	Report of the President of Yale University—year ending December 31, 1898.		1	Yale University.
	Total number of volumes and pamphlets added since July, 1898.....	21	38	
	Total number in Library.....	114	161	

Respectfully submitted,

GEORGE P. GARRISON,  
Librarian.

# THE QUARTERLY

OF THE

TEXAS STATE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

Vol. III.

OCTOBER, 1899.

No. 2.

*The publication committee and the editor disclaim responsibility for views expressed by contributors to the Quarterly.*

## ADVENTURES OF THE "LIVELY" IMMIGRANTS. II.

W. S. LEWIS.

[It is apparent from Mr. Lewis's own statement in this number that the journal was not put into the form from which Colonel Bryan's copy was made until something more than fifty years after the events narrated; but it is said by Colonel Bryan to be quite faithful to the geography of the section of the Brazos country with which it deals, and to the names left there. It must, therefore, have been written from notes made earlier. What Lewis says relative to the daughters of Mr. Morton would indicate as much. Colonel Bryan has added some notes, to which are appended his initials.

Mr. L. G. Bugbee's estimate of the value of the journal is given in note 2 to his article, "What Became of the Lively," printed in this number.

Mr. Lewis's initials have at last been obtained.—EDITOR QUARTERLY.]

The boat almost passed before those on board saw me, but when they did they appeared to feel equal satisfaction with myself. I was taken aboard and first inquired as to the success of the trip. Then what a change of feeling came over me! They did say I shed tears, and it was perhaps so. I answered their inquiries in monosyllables, but eventually I found utterance sufficient to say that the camp was only a mile or two away; that all were pretty well; that we had had a sore bad time of it; that the vessel never came back any more; that we stayed four or five days and then moved up by stations,

bringing only the bedding, a kettle, and a frying pan; and that there were no provisions to bring but a peck of rice. They asked how we had all lived, and I answered that we had killed some game. They asked who killed it, and I said first one and then another. Then I added that Mr. Beard and Nelson would tell them all about it, and that we were almost there.

When we arrived I remarked that this was my camp, and that the other belonged to Beard and the balance. I told the Governor that in anticipation of their arrival I had a fine roasted turkey for them. Just then I got out of the boat at my landing, whereupon they all got out and fell to eating; for they had been on short allowance themselves and had a taste of what hunger is.

They reported that they had gone up for six days and could hear nothing of the land settlers. Little remarked that they heard the report of a rifle the day they started back. I said I should have known from whom it came, but I saw at a glance from the old Governor that this remark was not pleasing to him. He replied that they suspected they were Indians, and that it determined them to return as quick as possible. This was all gammon and soft soap. I had reason a short time after to believe that they had met with the settlers above, and that they could hear nothing of Colonel Austin. This intelligence would tend to dissatisfaction and discontent in the camp, and if it was known that a settlement was above us it might produce a stampede—particularly as the vessel had left us so unexpectedly, and that in a starving condition.

My mind was greatly exercised as to coming events with us. I, however, came to one conclusion, which was that my chance was better than most, and equally fair with the best. If I could keep my powder dry and my gun in order, I felt I could make the settlement at Nacogdoches if I could keep clear of the Indians.

Little and the old Governor gave our "steward and cook" a pretty sound lecture as to the prodigal use of the provisions, particularly the sugar, tea, and coffee, as these were intended for the sick; but it was now too late to cry.

In an hour or two it was decided to send the boat to the mouth of the river to see if the vessel had been back; as it had been agreed that either party was to leave some token if it returned and did not find the other. And it was determined that we should go to work and build boats (*pirogues*) and continue our route up the river. I was to go down with Little, the Governor, and three others of the



men. I told the Governor that it was not right to work a free horse to death; that I thought I had done more than my share the last seven or eight days; that if it was necessary for me to be at the mouth of the river I would walk both ways; and that I was unwilling to be made a hand on the boat. A consultation was had, and they substituted our tall man, the New York engineer. They did not say whether I should go or not. I, however, put out, intending to capture a deer if possible, knowing they would be short of meat.

The river being very serpentine, I had no difficulty in keeping ahead of the boat, and occasionally sallied out to find a deer. I had nearly got to our hawk camp, when a turkey hen flew from the opposite side and dropped close to where I stood. I saw her start and prepared myself as she alighted. I fired and broke her thigh. She could not rise again for the high grass, but she gave me some trouble with her one foot and wings. She eluded me until I tired her out, she being very fat. The men in the boat, hearing the report of my rifle, stopped rowing and got out on the bank, where I was, not one hundred yards from them.

We soon got to the mouth of the river, but found no evidence of the "Lively," so we put in a load to return.

I had seen among the drift the bow and some six feet of what appeared to be a small canoe of black walnut. This I saw on our first leaving the vessel, and I had some little trouble to locate the place, but eventually found it. I was unable to learn much more about it, except that it had a crack or split in the bottom. How much more it was damaged I did not know, for the rest of it was under drift wood and sand. I, however, resolved to keep my own counsel, as I did not know what my individual necessities might become.

Hearing a pistol shot that I supposed was intended to warn me, I started back. I only crossed to the east side. The current was strong, as the tide was ebbing, and they determined to await the return tide, for the boat was pretty well loaded. So we built a big fire in our old camp and remained until about two o'clock. Then with a strong tide current we made good headway and reached the camp by twelve o'clock. But this was only a beginning in boating up. The next trip was for axes, saws, augers, and in fact all that we might need.

It now became necessary to send some of the party in search of timber suitable to build boats. We were about ten or twelve miles from the mouth of the river, and the largest growth of cotton-wood

appeared to be on the opposite, or west, side. The men we sent out reported finding what would answer some three miles higher up; so those who did not go back with the boat went to carrying what was here up to the opposite side, where we were to establish a boat building yard.

I soon saw my place. It was in the occupation of hunter with Stephen Holston, Jacky Lovelace, and Beddinger. Mr. Harrison, who, though he had a fine gun, had no experience in the woods, was supernumerary. At first, for four or six days, we had no difficulty in keeping meat ahead, always drying when we had a surplus. The negro boy, William, the servant of Harrison, did nothing but jerk and take care of the excess. This was generally of venison, but occasionally there were three or four turkeys, which were usually barbecued. In this condition they would not spoil.

About this time the men had finished boating up all they had to bring, even tools for farming, grub and weeding hoes, cane knives, etc. I turned loose about my drift canoe, and desired the use of the boat and two hands to go and examine it. Little was not in favor of this, but the old Governor approved it; and I took Mattigan and the other Irishman—Gibson, I think, was his name—and invited Mr. Jacky to go also, for I rather suspected that Little was afraid to trust me and the men with the boat, fearing that we might turn runaways.

Well, we started them down, and we took the land to try to kill something on the way, which Mr. Jacky did a short way below our camp on the bayou. As the boat had passed down, we carried the deer between us to the next bend below, where we intercepted the party, got in, and went on, leaving Mattigan and Gibson to skin and hang up the venison and to build a good fire.

We had a grub hoe, hand saw, axe, and spade. We took the spade and grub hoe and went a half mile, rather on the outside of the drift, when we reached the canoe. We soon cleared away one side and the inside and found the boat sound, but there was a large split from one edge running five or six feet rather towards the other end and from the top to nearly the bottom. Mr. Jacky said that was easily doctored if nothing was worse. We now tried to examine the bottom and the other end, but it was covered with a drift of large logs. We went for water and something to eat and returned with the others and the tools, i. e., the axe and saw. We commenced getting away the drift and sand and expected to find the boat rotten, for it

looked as though it might have been there half a century. We found it a little tender where the sand had covered it, but Mr. Jacky said it would soon harden when exposed to the air and sun. The bottom was open for ten feet. It looked like a sun crack. Mr. Jacky said the boat was a great prize, worth to us now its weight in gold. We continued our unearthing till near night. We were a little dubious about trying to move the boat, and concluded it was better to leave it to dry and harden a little as we had plenty of time. Mr. Jacky said he expected that we should be building boats two or more weeks. He said we must clear away all the sand from the canoe that we could, but that we could do this in the morning while Mattigan cooked us a little meat.

Before starting back we found in the morning that the boat had dried very much, and we went to work to relieve it of the rest of the sand in and around it. When we had finished Mr. Jacky took his knife and went to where the most decayed part appeared to be and cut out a chip from the side and found the wood quite sound under one-fourth of an inch of the decayed outside. Then he pronounced it all right.

We started back, and he and I got out near and opposite the old bayou camp, as I told him that we, not being able to cross, had not disturbed anything on this, the west, side of the river. Now we were about three miles from the boat yard. We diverged a little from the river and came to a lagoon, which ran in a parallel line with it. We followed the margin of the upper end of the lagoon. All at once Mr. Jacky stopped short. I was twenty or more yards behind him. He placed his finger on his lips. I knew the import—silence. I looked around expecting to see him prepare to shoot, and trying to find the object. He perceived my perplexity and beckoned me to him, admonishing me by signs to make no noise. He only pointed to the soft mud and water which showed recent tracks of buffalo. Though they were the first I had ever seen, I knew at a glance what it meant. He told me in a whisper to note whether I could hear or see anything. After a half minute I shook my head. He signaled me to be still where I was and started, as I saw, to ascertain the probable number, and to see whether they were feeding or on the tramp. I was a little curious to see what he intended to do. He turned direct to the river and said, as if to himself, we have the wind of them. Then I hurried to camp, and soon I saw the Governor, Holston, and Mr. Harrison in full preparation. The men at work were on the

point of falling a large cotton-wood, when they were stopped, to make as little noise as practicable. I did not know if I was to be one of the party or not at the time. I was very anxious to see a buffalo, not to speak of seeing one killed.

We arrived at the place and immediately started on trail of the buffaloes, though it was evident that they were at feed. I heard the old Governor whisper to Mr. Jacky that in all probability they were lying down. He, Mr. Jacky, and Holston went some thirty yards ahead of us, but very noiselessly. They had gone perhaps a quarter of a mile, when as well as we could see they both squatted down to prime afresh. Very soon Mr. Jacky raised up his rifle and fired. We remained still until beckoned up. The old Governor said in his usual tone, "He has one." \* \* \*<sup>1</sup>

I think we were the best part of three days in packing and jerking the meat of the buffalo for after use. It gave considerable relief to the hunters, though we occasionally killed a deer or turkey, as they were very plenty and not very wild; but we perceived after a week or two that they were getting scarce for a mile or so near the camp.

It was now a good time to get help to bring my canoe up. I mentioned it to Mr. Jacky, and we went down again, taking Thompson, the carpenter, and my long engineer, Nelson, and Beddinger. We found the boat quite dry and got it out on the beach. Thompson and Nelson went in search of something to splice the bottom with. They found the blade of an old flat boat steering oar, but it took as much work and trouble to get it out as the canoe. Mr. Jacky called us to him some distance out from the drift. He had found what he said looked like burnt tar or pitch. The mass was two and a half feet in diameter and three or four inches thick. As it lay in the cold it was quite hard, but a little flexible. Mr. Jacky got off a small particle and took it to the fire. "By Jo," he exclaimed, "it is very like good pitch, except the smell." It was what we afterwards learned to be coal bitumen. The discovery was most opportune, for we were in want of the very article. Our whale boat or yawl was getting to leak badly, and our new found old canoe could not well be made available without a good coat of pitch.

We now made preparations to start up to camp. Our first attempt was to put our canoe athwart the middle of the yawl, but we found

<sup>1</sup> Here follows a lengthy description of the behavior of the buffaloes and of the method of caring for the meat and cooking the marrow of the one killed.

this would not do. The canoe was twenty or twenty-five feet long, and one end or the other would get in the water. We then made it fast to the stern and towed it up—a slow, slow, tedious operation.

We brought the oar blade, cutting it in lengths to go into the yawl. Mr. Thompson and Beddinger went to work on the canoe and in two days had put in a splice some six or seven inches wide in the bottom, and with the aid of part of an old tin bucket that had been mashed they got means to do up the fracture in the side to above the water mark. After the application of our bitumen it turned out to be a snug, very light boat. In consequence of the help afforded by the bitumen, one other of the new pirogues was widened in like manner to a canoe. Finding that the red elm, which grew quite large, would split like an acorn, we got out a slab and inserted it, making room for a greater quantity of freight. The yawl was also repaired, and things began to look like a move.

I think we were boat building near three weeks. This brought us into about the first week of February. We commenced one morning to load and found something was to be gone after which had been left. So Mr. Little and four men went down and returned late in the evening, having picked up some recruits at the mouth of the river. They brought back with them a party consisting of an old man named Fitzgerald, his son, a man named Frazer, a negro woman, and an old but active negro man. They were from the Calcasieu, and were in one of the largest and finest pirogues we had ever seen. It was all of forty feet long, and wide enough to roll a large barrel from one end to the other. It also had a middle piece put in the whole length. Fitzgerald and his party were rejoiced to see our boat come down, for he had made up his mind to await some further information or an additional escort for fear of the Indians. I mention the particulars relative to this boat, as it was destined to be a help thereafter. It had very little freight aboard, and it helped us out, as our four boats and the canoe and yawl were likely to be too heavily loaded for comfort and good speed.

The old Governor had had a comfortable seat put in the canoe, and he decided to take me and Beddinger in to work it. We had nothing in it except the cooking utensils and water buckets and any meats left over from the last breakfast. Our boat was always to be the advance, chosen perhaps on account of my accuracy in shooting, as I was put in the bow. The work was a light one to keep ahead of the fleet. Of a morning we frequently would get two or three miles

ahead in order to get out of the reach of the noise in the camp for the night, so that by slipping easily along we would be able frequently to catch some game on the bank, for it soon got so that if we killed nothing we would have no breakfast next morning.

Our progress was very slow, hardly twenty miles a day, and we had quite a week's rain soon after starting. So far we had been fortunate in killing something to live on each day; but we missed part of two days and had to call a halt to hunt. My partner, Beddinger, had missed killing a fine deer, right in the sight of us all, shooting not thirty yards. This put old Fitzgerald in a pucker, and when we again started, lo and behold, to our surprise, he put out under full headway before us. We had killed several deer on our hunt, but at night old Fitz stopped a quarter above us. His boat was light, and he could run around our boat three or four times in the mile. Well, next morning he was out and gone, so we again went out to hunt and did not get off until later. We again started, and not half a mile off saw some one waiting for us. Our boat came up, and we found none but Frazier; so we went on until night, when Fitzgerald came up. The men swore he should not pass, and a compromise resulted. He was to take one day, or until he had killed, and then to give us the run.

We were very lucky on our day, Holston having killed two, and Beddinger and Harrison killing two turkeys; so we gave him the balance of the day; but the next he was not to be seen, and also the next. We were again compelled to stop a half day, and at night no news of old Fitz. Next morning we were under way, and about nine o'clock we passed around a point, when here came the big pirogue with "a bone in the mouth;" and as he passed us he said "Indians! Indians!! boys," and never stopped till he fell in at the bottom of the fleet, now three hundred yards long. The old Governor ran up to the bar, and we all got together. On inquiry, Fitzgerald said they were in the bend on the other side. We started, keeping well together. We went, I suppose, a mile, and sure enough we saw two wigwams, but there was not an Indian to be seen. After a little consultation it was determined to go over. We got out and went into the huts. In the largest one we found two bows and a sack of headed arrows; in the other there was nothing. It seemed to be deserted. We left a carrot of tobacco and a tin cup and went on our way.

We were never afterwards troubled by Fitzgerald about a division

of the hunting days. Our days became a monotony, a sameness, one day with another, except perhaps in two instances.

In one of these instances I was lost for a day and night. We had stopped to hunt about three in the evening. It was quite cloudy. I started down the margin of the river. A large cane brake was on the other side of me to my left. I had proceeded for a mile or so looking for an outlet into the bottom. I at length found an opening and had left the river perhaps half a mile, when I saw a small yearling doe and shot it. It ran fifty or sixty yards and fell. There was a great sameness in the woods. I went to work and prepared my little deer for carrying back to camp, but I was seized with a little touch of vertigo, or a swimming of the head, brought on by my continued stooping. I started off as I supposed towards the river, keeping the heavy cane to the right. I saw from the distance I had gone that I was not right. I wandered about for an hour. It had set in raining and appeared to be getting towards night. I began to make up my mind that I would have to spend the night in the woods.

I had now reached the prairie and struck a deer path, and soon to my consternation I came upon a very recent camp made by Indians. I found in one place where the ground was a little soft a spot where I could detect in some measure the number and kind. I found the tracks of two or three children, several half grown girls or women, and two or three warriors. So I was a little relieved, as they were on the tramp to other localities, perhaps leaving the upper region where were our land immigrants.

I went along looking for a suitable tree to make my bed on for the night. I found a live oak which promised a good seat, and it was not hard to get into its branches, for many of its limbs were half as large as the main trunk. The set of limbs was ten or twelve feet from the ground, but a small red elm answered for a ladder. My next trouble was to start a fire. But the things were damp! I succeeded and made a big fire by the side of a fallen hackberry and took off one of the ribs of my deer and put it to roast. Well, my appetite was very keen. I did not wait to do the cooking thoroughly. While, however, my meat was being cooked I went up the tree with my gun and selected my roosting place. I took the balance of the little deer, and, making a fork on one of the saplings, hung it up by its hamstring as high as I could reach; for I knew the wolves would scent out the fresh blood. Then I took my rib and went to roost. The

wolves or a tiger were all that I feared. The smell of fresh blood would attract them.

It soon became dark, and very dark. The rain had ceased a little. I was pretty well located, having a large limb for my seat, which grew, as most of the lower limbs of the live oak grow, nearly at right angles from the body or stem; and on top of the elm I had a resting place for my feet, as also a convenient limb behind me to rest my back when I wished to change my position. Tying my gun to one of the limbs for fear I might let it fall and get broken, and putting my Scotch cap over the lock to keep it dry, I soon found myself feeling a disposition to nod.

But in an hour or so I was aroused from this state, as I heard at no great distance a whimper and then a hideous howl of a wolf, and then another and another until the dark woods appeared a howling wilderness. This did not alarm me in the least, for I knew them of old, having had a full lesson of the like in my native barrens of Kentucky. It was not long until I heard them growling and snapping at each other near my hung up balance of the little deer. They after a while became partially silent. I supposed the master of the crowd succeeded in getting part of it down, as I heard a scrambling, snapping, and pulling, as if three or more might have a hold on it, for they had scuffled off from the place where it was hung up. Soon I presumed that they had finished this piece, for a renewal took place for the balance, being perhaps the hind quarters, which put it nearly out of their reach, as many a jump was unsuccessful. About this time I think they had an accession to their party in the shape of a tiger. His keen olfactory nerves brought him into the ring. It took but a little while for him to get down sufficient to satisfy him, and, cat-like, he then coiled himself down to sleep. I thought he had left, as I could see or hear nothing; but when daylight appeared there he was in a sound sleep. I was a little at a loss what was best to be done. I anticipated his making off if he should hear my voice and get a scent of me. I was a little dubious as to the propriety of shooting him, on account of the report of my gun, should Indians be in hearing; but my first idea was amply sufficient, as the wind had shifted and was blowing towards him. My loud cough and halloo started him to his feet, and immediately off he went to the cane.

I was not long getting out of my bed, as the wind had appeared to be coming from the north. I thought it in my favor. I wished to go west, but this cane brake was in the way, and it was a wet job to go



through after the rain. I put out in a long stride after examining my gun, priming it afresh. After going a mile or two, I come all at once to a place that I recognized as one I had passed the evening before. I now kept my course from the wind. I had struck a prairie, and, still keeping my course, I eventually came upon a flag pond with but little water. Here I was bothered a little. I detected a flat which looked as though it might be a drain in a wet season to carry off the surplus water, which must empty into a larger stream, or the river. But there were more than one. This one ran a hundred or so yards and emptied itself into the swamp. Seeing a row of water flags off to my right, I went and found a dry looking lagoon. I went on and followed it, and thought it might empty itself into the pond; but as it appeared to favor my idea and course I determined to see the end. My idea now was to try to find which way it emptied itself. I saw one place where I thought the drift indicated that I was going down it, and soon I thought it deepened; and by and by I found that it was a bayou. But was it to empty into the river? In half a mile further I saw the appearance of timber, and a little further on I detected now and then some stunted bunches of cane, and soon a stiff cane brake on both sides, and then I found what I needed very much, some water in a hole.

On the next turn of the bayou, just around the point, I discerned three deer after water. There was now a necessity for me to shoot one, as I had none of my little deer left. They were in the shade, and one had lain down. I killed one, and to my great joy and surprise the report of my gun was answered below me a half mile or so. I went two hundred yards and saw the river. I built a good fire and then went and took the entrails from my deer. Then I returned to the river, as they had arrived and were hallooing for me. They commenced with a good many questions, which I interrupted by asking if they had any cold meat. They had killed nothing, the rain having driven the deer into the prairie. I was asked what I shot at, and I told them if two of them would go two hundred yards to a hole of water they would find a fine large buck. . . . The deer was brought, and a good part cooked and eaten. The old Governor said the Indian sign was made by those of the wigwam we passed.

We now made another start, Mr. Holston occupying my seat in the little boat. It had been given to Beddinger, but he had missed killing two deer and a turkey, and Mr. Holston was in charge. I told the old Governor that he had better retain Mr. Holston as per-

haps a better and older hunter than I. Mr. Jacky said it was best that I take the old seat, as I was quicker than anyone he ever saw, and that he believed I had not missed but once or twice on the route. Nothing of interest occurred, except now and then a deer or turkey was taken. . . .<sup>2</sup>

Two days and a half brought us to our stopping place. Now I have never since visited that part of Texas, and do not know what name was given to it. Let me describe it, and locate landmarks that must still exist, though it has now been just about fifty-two years since I was there. Our landing was made on the west side of the river, where the prairie came right up to the bank, forming a bluff, and being the only high land that had reached the river on either side. There was a vacancy of timber of perhaps a mile or more on the river bank. The alluvial low land sloped off on the lower end or south gradually from the prairie to the timber and heavy cane brakes. At or near the upper termination of the prairie, and perhaps a little way into the woods or timber, a singular phenomena (if it might be called so) was a deep cañon, bayou, or ditch. A half mile from the mouth it was forty or more feet wide. The sides were quite perpendicular, and it was nearly or quite twenty feet deep. It extended two or three miles at right angles to the river to the west, the river here being north and south. The prairie was quite level for miles around. . . .<sup>3</sup>

There was but one crossing on the cañon for two or more miles. It connected with the river through a point or strip of timber. Now a little above this was the lower end of the only "falls" of the river that we noticed. At the head of the "falls" and a little above, the river made a considerable detour to the west, and then a half mile, and it turned back perhaps twenty-five degrees north. The "falls" were not passable in low water with a yawl or skiff without the help of a line. It seems to me there must have been a fall of four feet in the hundred yards. The opposite land, or east side, was heavy cane brake, in which a Mr. Morton made a clearing in the spring of '22.<sup>4</sup>

Mr. Little commenced putting up a log cabin, say twenty or twenty-five feet square, the men carrying the logs from the land be-

<sup>2</sup> Here follow several pages of details relative to the killing of a bear.

<sup>3</sup> The matter omitted here consists of a theory as to the origin of the cañon.

<sup>4</sup> Mr. Lewis is describing the present site of Richmond.—G. M. B.

low us. This occupied all the force, but as soon as all the heavy timber had been brought up and the house was built, which occupied some ten or twelve days, part of the hands were selected to return to the mouth of the river, in expectation of meeting the Lively, or at least finding supplies, as originally stipulated. It was now late in March. We took the yawl and Fitzgerald's big pirogue. Our company consisted of the two Lovelaces, Mr. Holston, Mr. Harrison, his boy William, the engineer Nelson, — Williams, Mr. Wilson, and myself—fourteen in all, some of whom I don't now recollect.

The only thing occurring on the way down happened the third day out, when we supposed we had made three-fourths of the trip. About nine or ten o'clock we came upon a lot of Indians of all sorts and sizes, with as many dogs apparently as Indians. They were in the bend on the east side, and so soon as we rounded the point they were all on the bank awaiting us. There were some nine or ten warriors. The balance to the number of perhaps twenty-five or thirty were boys, women, and children. One old man, who looked to be sixty or seventy, advanced to the water's edge, hallooing at the top of his voice, with demonstrations with hands and arms, "Here, here, white man. Here, white man." We, however, got out on the sand bar on the opposite side and all went to loading and examining our guns, when the Governor, Jacky, and Harrison, after placing us in along so as to cover them if hostile demonstrations were shown.<sup>5</sup> The old chief spoke Mexican, and our Mr. Harrison had a smattering of the Spanish, so we got some information from the Indian, for we did not yet know the name of the river. He said it was "Brazos de Dios," and mentioned the Colorado, pointing to the west and clapping his hands open four times, which we put down as meaning a four days' journey, or forty miles. They were traveling in that direction.

We reached the mouth of the river the next evening, but no vessel, no news of any kind. Nothing had been disturbed since we left. Here was a poor disheartened set of men. We had prepared ourselves a little better with hooks and lines, as Mr. Harrison and Mr. Lovelace had them in their satchels when they went up the river the first time, and we could catch all the fish we wanted, both the red at night, and blue cat in the morning. We determined to remain several days, hoping to intercept some sail or other, or hear some news.

<sup>5</sup> Here some omission in the MS. makes the meaning doubtful.

The third day early in the morning a yawl arrived, having on board a Mr. Morton, his son, a boy seventeen years old, and a negro boy of about the same age. Mr. Morton informed us that he started from Mobile in a schooner of his own with his family, consisting of his wife, a step-daughter, Miss Jane Edwards, a son called Tilly, and three daughters of perhaps thirteen, eleven, and seven or eight years old, whose names I do not recollect. He stated that he made the island in a storm, and attempted to land after missing the entrance to Galveston Bay. The wind blowing a heavy gale from the southeast, he went ashore just above the pass of the west end. All were saved. The two sailors took the other boat and went to the east end, now Galveston. He saved all he could from the wreck. He said he had come in search of help and had left his wife and four daughters alone on the island.

We immediately volunteered to give him help. So three went on our yawl in company of Mr. Morton. Five of us were to go in the big pirogue as soon as they got back with it, some of the men having gone up the river in it to hunt. They returned late in the evening; so Wilson, Mr. Williams, Thompson, Nelson, and myself fixed up to go early in the morning. I expected to go in the stern, but was overruled, and they put Nelson in to manage the boat. It was a godsend that the tide was on the swell, i. e., coming in as we shoved off. It was observed that the wind from the south had freshened up in going a hundred yards or so. I remonstrated that the surf was rising, but Nelson paid no attention to what was said until the boat began to catch water in her bow. I ordered the oars on the starboard to cease and tried to get her around, but too late. The next two or three swells filled her, then every one for himself. Poor Mr. Thompson sank as she turned upside down, and I think he immediately drowned. Williams, poor fellow, being a good swimmer, left the boat and nearly reached the shore, but went under. The other two kept by accident on the lee side of the boat, for it was going sidewise before the wind, and with a strong incoming tide. I had slipped back, being on the same side, and losing my position on the boat had dropped astern a little, when I observed the stern line. I made for it and succeeded in getting it. It was of sufficient length to pass it under my arms and take a round turn, and I so held it always after a wave had passed over me, as to haul myself up as close as I could to the boat, only holding on to the slack with one hand, as the surge of the boat was getting too much for me. In this way we

three reached a point where we could touch bottom, but were too weak to get out alone, and though not twenty feet from the dry beach would have drowned, but the wind shifted to the left and lulled until the sea was as smooth as a piece of glass.

A second call for volunteers was made, and soon four offered themselves. I was appealed to, and I replied that I would again try it if Nelson would keep out of the stern and the pirogue would keep close to the shore. If this had been done in the morning those poor fellows would have been still living. Mr. Jacky agreed to go in the stern. So about 12 o'clock at night we reached the west end. Not seeing any one, we kindled a fire and lay down to rest. When I awoke I found the old lady and her four children and some eatables for us, and it was very acceptable, for it was the first bread and salt we had tasted for three months.

As the boats were to return for the balance of what we could take up the river, and the family were to go, I remained with one or two others, as it gave more room in the boat. Mr. Morton said that he had observed on going around the island the previous day a fresh horse track . . . , and proposed that we should see if we could find it. We started, taking each a little different direction, and agreeing to meet at a certain point and report. I reached the designated place ready to report seeing plenty of fresh sign: but, as I thought, only of one and the same animal. Not seeing or hearing anything of Mr. Morton, I made my way to the wreck and found him there. He stated that he had seen the horse, a small clay-bank, and said that he was not by any means wild, for he let him go within twenty feet of him, but had no disposition to be taken. He proposed to crease him by shooting him through the leaders and muscle of the neck, which he said might be done without much injury. . . . <sup>6</sup>Mr. Morton said he did not think he was accurate enough to try it himself. He had a fine little rifle, carrying a ball of small buckshot size. We started to find the horse again, and he suffered us to get within fifteen or twenty feet. Morton told me to try it, and gave me his gun. I got the horse's side to me, and I succeeded, but shot him a little too far back, cutting the edge of the shoulder. I made him fast with a piece of cord. He soon recovered and got up, but limped. We were fearful that he was materially injured, but it

<sup>6</sup> Here Mr. Lewis tells how he had once creased a deer.

did not prove to be so. He recovered entirely in a week or so, leaving only the scar of the bullet.

I now told Mr. Morton that he must assume the capture and ownership of the horse. He stoutly demurred. I explained to him how I stood in the company as an immigrant. I was not bound, as the balance were, by signing a compact or obligation. From some cause Colonel Austin had never presented it or spoken to me about it, and neither did either of the Messrs. Lovelace or Mr. Jennings sign it. Mr. Little and Beard on one or two occasions rather intimated that my services belonged to the company, and that I was as much subject to Little's orders as any of the others. It occurred in this way: at our first locating we, i. e., the hunters, had no difficulty in finding and killing plenty of meat, but by the time we had been three or four weeks there game got scarce for two or three miles from our location. The killing was an easy job, as deer and turkeys were very plenty, but the carrying in was a heavy, onerous job. Once or twice I had to leave some in the woods or prairie, because the burden was more than I thought my share. Well, it ended in some short words and replies. Beard knew how I had obtained my gun, and proposed to take it by force. Now to Mr. Morton I said I did not know how far they might go, and they might claim the horse on the same grounds. This was my reason for his entire ownership of the horse.

The animal was very tractable and gentle, and I swam him by the side of one of the boats across the mouth of the outlet at the west end of the island. He swam some hundred yards or so and then gave up. He went the balance of the way on his side, I now think near a quarter of a mile.

The boats were packed and loaded with the old lady and the youngest little girl on board. The balance except the boatmen, three for each boat, all took the beach; for it was a beautiful level, hard road, except that here and there a lagoon was to cross. I had our pony prize in charge. We made the trip down to the mouth of the river in good time without an accident. As I had to make my way by land I prepared a species of pad for a saddle. I found the pony needed no tying up, for so long as he had a halter or rope on he would not leave.

The crowd got ready in a day or two, Mr. Morton caching and hiding what he could not then carry up, and the balance of the boys catching and cooking fish for the start. I got on pretty well except

crossing the bayous and lagoons, many of which I had to ascend a mile or two before being able to cross, as most of them were boggy with perpendicular banks. I was struck and pleased with one trait in our horse. I left him standing on the bank and went some distance up to look for a crossing, and found one. To my surprise he was on the bank above me. I crossed on some drift, and had not got over when he came down a bank five or six feet high and over through mud and water belly deep, as much as to say that he was not to be left. I generally killed something every day. Mr. Morton had a tin horn, and we could always meet at night. When I killed a deer or turkey I took it ahead of them to some open place on the bank and hung it up. Game, except turkeys, began to leave the swamp and hunt for the young prairie grass. The only thing of note from now up was the finding of a bee tree but a short distance from the river. It was in a small, dead elm, only about a foot or fifteen inches through, but it had a good deal of honey, the tree being hollow for six or eight feet. We got all the honey. We camped one hundred yards above the tree, it being late in the evening before the honey could all be taken.

In a day or two afterwards we arrived at our destination. I had anticipated, of course, hearing from, or learning the whereabouts of, Colonel Austin and his friends; but not a word. My disappointment and chagrin bore heavy on me. I let down so much that every one noticed it.

On our last trip down we had met a boat some ten miles from camp containing four men coming to join our immigrant party. It consisted of an elderly man by the name of Styner, his two sons, and one other whose name I never knew. They were from Newtown on the Teche. They had located in a canebrake a mile or so below us or below where we had put up the cabin, where Little had planted his patch of corn in the edge of the prairie, and where he had made little or nothing, at it was too late and the drought set in. Mr. Morton located at the other extreme of the prairie in the edge of the timber on the river and below the cañon or gulch heretofore alluded to. He, however, went into a canebrake on the opposite side of the river to open a patch.

7. . . . .

<sup>7</sup> Here Mr. Lewis gives a detailed account of a lesson in deer hunting which he had from Mr. Styner.

I, however, was daily more discontented at my situation and condition. As Mr. Morton's camp, which was mine when I came in from a hunt, was some distance from Little's, or the main camp, which I never visited, I of course knew very little of what was going on there. I, however, found out that the Messrs. Lovelace, Holston, Harrison, and Mr. Jennings had disappeared. This induced me to believe that they had heard or knew more than they had said anything about. I found that they had taken one of the boats and the little canoe and left for the settlements above. It was now late in June, and upon this information I determined to seek an opportunity to return to the States. I had been appealed to by Mattigan and his Irish friend to go through by land, they offering to carry all I had if I would go. This I peremptorily refused, at the same time withholding from them or anyone else my intention of going.

My almost perpetual absence in the prairies kept me ignorant as to the passing up and down of immigrants. On the present occasion I had gone up the river and had been out a day or two, camping at night on the bank. Early one morning a boat, a fine, large, new skiff, came up the river and halted at my little camp; and when they came up the bank who should I meet but a man named Addison Harrison, whom I knew from boyhood in Kentucky. They spent part of the morning with me, as I had part of a fresh deer on hand. Here was my chance to get back. Harrison was very much pleased with the Brazos, and said he had determined to go back and move direct. He had with him a school-mate of mine, a Mr. Grandison Alsbury, a man by the name of Tadlock, and a doctor whose name I have lost, with a mulatto boy. On informing him of my intention and desire to return to the States he was greatly pleased, as I had had some little experience on salt water. They had come to the island and gone over the bay to the San Jacinto and Buffalo Bayou. They there learned that it was practicable to coast it back to the United States, and into the Vermilion or Berwick Bay. He said he did not intend to advance much further up the river, and would return in three or four days, or at furthest a week, and would stop for me. This arrangement suited me, as I had but little preparation to make. I told him I had a small trunk, two feet square, with but little in it. Of what clothing I had had, there was but little left me, the trunk having been long before broken open and pillaged of its contents.



Some time about the 20th or 25th of August, Mr. Harrison and party stopped early one morning. I took my trappings to the boat and advanced to Mr. Morton's tent and informed him of my intention to return to the United States. He of course was a little surprised, but said he thought it best for me; that my prospect was a gloomy one here as things had turned out.

I will here remark that Mr. Morton was a brickmaker and mason. I mention this, as it may lead to some information or identification, as the three girls of his family are not yet old, and they can possibly be traced out and identified. The son, "Tilly," I think perhaps died that fall.<sup>7a</sup>

We immediately put away for the mouth of the river. The next day we discerned a bunch of some eight or more deer on the beach. They were easy of approach, as they, I presume, had not apprehended any danger from the river. Mr. Harrison took his rifle and picked his choice, killing a fine five-prong buck. His adroitness and activity in getting it a hundred yards into the boat was amusing. I supposed he was bringing it whole to the boat to skin and dress it; but, to my surprise, he and the men that went after it put it into the boat. He said he had not come to Texas to be scalped by Indians.

We reached the mouth in a day of two, for we went all night, and with the river a little on the swell we made railroad time. Our wish was to barbecue what we could of the deer as the best guarantee to save it. We reached the west end; and, as Mr. Harrison had promised to return by the San Jacinto and report to some of his friends and immigrants the success of his trip, as the schooner<sup>8</sup> had to make some repairs before proceeding on her voyage to the mouth of the Rio Grande, and as the captain was down with fever, we saw we should not leave for three weeks.

We started early in the morning and steered a northeast course, which Mr. Harrison assumed to be the direction of the mouth or confluence of the bay and the San Jacinto. We worked all day, having some trouble with reefs and oyster banks. In the morning we could see nothing but a waste of water, having had a light north wind all night. I had never been on or across the bay, and began

<sup>7a</sup>See introductory note.

<sup>8</sup> Which had brought Mr. Harrison's party to Texas, and was then lying at the mouth of the San Jacinto.

to be a little skeptical as to our success; but about twelve o'clock I observed a change in the color of the water, and on testing it I found it less salt than it had been. This encouraged us, and our oars bent more readily to the new impulse, the water increasing in freshness, and the color becoming more turbid. Soon, at a distance of some four or more miles, we sighted the long looked for top of the mast of the schooner.

Many of Mr. Harrison's friends and others who were anxious for his return had gone on an excursion to the settlement on the Trinity, so he concluded to go and meet them. He asked me to go also. I told him I would rather go up the bayou—afterwards called Buffalo Bayou—to try and kill some meat, as we were getting short, and the captain of the schooner asked us a dollar a pound for anything he could spare—bacon, sea or pilot bread, sugar, coffee, or rice. In the morning we fixed up to prospect the bayou. Tadlock, Alsbury, and two of the men from the other camp offered to go also. One of the men said he had been up some ten miles, and that the whole bottom was subject to overflow, and was then so muddy and boggy from recent rains that he and his companions could go nowhere. They saw nothing, nor the sign of anything. We, however, went up. Having no current to contend with, we made good headway, and when I supposed we had advanced some twelve miles we concluded to prospect; for it appeared to me that the land was higher out from the bayou, and we could occasionally see signs of deer, as though they came for water.<sup>9</sup> . . . .

Mr. Harrison had now been gone five days, and we were anxious for his return. He came the following day, and his surprise was considerable to see the improvement in our outfit. I rehearsed our adventure up the bayou. I told him that I found it as wide twelve or fifteen miles up as here at the mouth; that its direction was nearly west, and its course not very serpentine; and that my impression was that its extreme source could not be very far from the Brazos, and I thought the time would come when the navigation of the Brazos would be through this bayou by the aid of a canal

<sup>9</sup> Here Mr. Lewis gives a detailed and lengthy account of how he killed a buffalo and traded part of the meat to the captains of the schooner lying in the bay and of another that had just come from New Orleans for some supplies, and a balance in money; and how he secured some timber and the services of a ship's carpenter belonging to one of the vessels, to fit up Mr. Harrison's skiff for the coasting voyage back to Louisiana.

into and through the bay, via Galveston into the Gulf. But railroads have knocked this idea into pi. . . .

Mr. Harrison and his party got in about ten in the morning. I supposed he would be for making a start immediately. When I went to talk to him he was making up a little lost sleep. We, however, went to work, and were packing away things in the boat, which would have to be done. The captain of the first schooner came to our boat, and we told him we were preparing to leave. He told us that he would be off the next day or the day following. When Mr. Harrison came down I told him about the schooner's determination to leave, and said as we did not know enough of the route it would be well for us to wait and go out at the same time. So things remained in statu quo.

The second morning we filled two demijohns, which we had procured, with San Jacinto water, and followed the schooner, which had already entered the bay and struck for the island. We had a fair west breeze coming on our starboard side. Our new sail did very well. It was too large for the skiff in an ordinary stiff breeze, but we had the advantage of being able to lessen its size by reefing it to the mast.

The next day we took our departure from the island eastward up the gulf beach. We encountered no serious difficulty, except being compelled on two occasions to beach our boat on account of heavy north and north-west winds, to prevent its being carried out into the gulf.

We reached the opening of the Vermilion Bay, through which we intended crossing. We did so, but not with our consent as to the manner and speed with which we were compelled to travel. It was near or after sunset that we entered. We had been hurrying all we could to make the entrance of the bay, as we saw a heavy south-east cloud gathering. We passed the west end or point of the bay without observing anything like a shelter or harbor for us, and as far as we could see east a like disappointment met our eager expectation. But the storm rapidly approached. I at once realized our peril, and made up my mind to an early watery grave. All hands realized our perilous condition. How very incompetent I am to give anything like a description of our situation and feelings at the time. I sprang to the mast, and was just in time to take off the sprit from the sail as the storm of rain and wind struck us. I requested all the others except Mr. Harrison to lie flat down

in the bottom of the boat, and told him to keep her bow right across the swelling waves. By this time the sail was blowing in every and any direction. It fortunately, in its flapping about, doubled itself around the mast in such a manner as to make a little sail of three or four feet in width at the bottom, running to a point at the top. I was at the foot of the mast, and, getting hold of a strap around one of the bundles, secured the sail to it as well as I could. The wind was terrible, and the full bent of the storm was upon us, and our little cock shell of a life preserver was doing well, only now and then taking in a half bushel of water, while those in the bottom with buckets and pans were bailing it out. I told Mr. Harrison I thought we would make the shore, but my worst fear was our foundering. If the beach was flat, it would be all right, but a bluff bank or any solid impediment would be our ruin. I counselled all to be ready at the very first sign of bottom for all hands to spring out and, keeping the bow to the shore, urge the boat at every swell or wave forward and keep it bottom down. The howling of the tempest kept us from being aware of our approach to the shore, but I thought I heard an additional confused noise, and the next second I bawled out, "The shore! All hands be ready." We struck on a pile of drift logs, brush, and sea-weed, and the next swell carried us high and dry on a sandy grass plat. Still urging the boat out a length further, we congratulated ourselves on our safe landing and prepared to start a fire, which was attended with trouble and difficulty. Everything was wet, and the rain, though light, was still coming down. We gathered every available thing that would likely burn, dried ourselves and clothing, and slept soundly the balance of the night.

The next morning we relaunched our boat, but had to haul it near one hundred yards to the water. We put in our trumpery, and started to the east in search of the Vermilion Bay<sup>10</sup> or River. It was several miles before we came to it. It was a narrow bit of a bayou, twenty or thirty feet wide. Its small size made us a little skeptical as to whether we had found the proper stream. After going up two or three miles we saw sure signs of civilization in some hogs, and next we heard a large bell like a cow-bell, and further on the noise of the bark of a dog, and soon the crowing of a cock. We advanced until we came to a large road, when we landed. Mr.

<sup>10</sup> By "Vermilion Bay" Mr. Lewis seems here to mean the estuary of Vermilion River.

Harrison, Alsbury, and Mr. Tadlock went in search of information as to where we were, etc. The over-anxiety and labor of the night before were in such contrast with our present prospects and condition, that the sudden change of our situation completely relaxed and unhinged me. I took to a shade and grass plat, and was soon lost in a big sleep. In an hour or so I was awakened by the return of our party with the addition of a creole and his little boy some eight years old. He was one of the very worst specimens of that class, who at that time made up the great majority of the inhabitants of the settlement on the upper Teche, then called Newtown. In addition, this man could not speak one word of English. The others, being Kentuckians, could not speak one word of Creole French, and they brought him to see if the Doctor or myself could help out. The Doctor could give no assistance. In my intercourse with the creoles in and about New Orleans I had picked up a few words of their language. I pointed to the boat, which we wished to go to Newtown. He said it was three miles, or one league. I asked him what he would charge to take it, and he said three or four dollars. We told him to get his cattle and cart, and in the evening we were safe on the banks of the Teche, where we remained two days, I having finished my undertaking.

We here had to employ a pilot to show us the route out to the Mississippi through the continuous lakes to Plaqueminc, which we reached about the first of October, 1822. Mr. Harrison was astonished and apparently disappointed when I told him that we would separate at this point. He remonstrated, and urged as an inducement for me to return to Kentucky that I would gladden the hearts of my two sisters, both married and well to do, who lived in three or four miles of him. I told him that in my present destitute condition I could not think of it; that all I had to depend on was my knowledge of figures and my pen; and that the chance here in New Orleans or in Louisiana was much better than up the country. He asked if I was not going back to Texas. He said that he would go right back with at least ten or fifteen families, and that he was much in hopes of my going back with them. I told him I thought I had enough of Texas; that I had lost one year and all I had in the world; and that he had a good idea of what I had suffered. But I added that, if in a year or two Colonel Austin should be alive and his grant should be secured, I would hunt Mr. Harrison out when I went back.

I took a boat—I think the “Car of Commerce”—, and the following day I went to the city, working my passage down.

<sup>11</sup>.

Now I will give my judgment as to why the immigrants of the Lively missed the connection with Colonel Austin. I enter on this subject with hesitancy, with doubt as to the propriety of such a step at this late day, more particularly as my statement is at variance in some measure with what has been handed down in print as the history of this period. What I know I learned orally from others in conversations had on the vessel and at our dock and boat yard not to or intended for me, but for a few on the trip, viz., Mr. Jennings, Mr. Harrison, H. S. Holston, the two old bachelor brothers, the Messrs. Lovelace, and Wm. Little, the most of whom were from Sicily Island in Louisiana, not from Natchez. I had my berth in a rather secluded part of the cabin, and could hear most of what was said; and, as I never appeared to notice or reply or question on this or any other subject, my presence was totally disregarded. But I doubt if there was a single adventurer except the Lovelaces that was more alive to the success of the enterprise. Any and every thing spoken in reference to it had a place in my mind, was put up for future analysis, and was of all absorbing interest to me. It was those conversations that gave me an insight into affairs; it was through this medium that I made up my judgment that the Messrs. Lovelace were personally and pecuniarily interested in the success of the enterprise. The question put itself forward why these old men should take such an interest in the success of such an expedition. The reason could be no other than a pecuniary one.

The old man, Edward (Governor, as we called him) Lovelace, seemed to be the center or guiding spirit of the conclave. This showed itself more prominently when we were landed at first on the island, and more particularly on our unfortunate disembarkation at the mouth of the Brazos—unfortunate, because of our not landing also a portion of provisions. My mind was peculiarly exercised on the subject. On the following morning as the prospecting party was making preparations to get off in search of the land immigrants, I remarked, rather to Mr. Jacky Lovelace, that they had better let the yawl make one more trip to the vessel for a larger sup-

<sup>11</sup> Here follows an account of Mr. Lewis's adventure with a Mexican tiger which he killed on the Brazos.

ply of provisions, as it would be the last chance they would ever have at the Lively. Then this yawl-mouthed Beard, who was cook and steward, said in a loud voice that that young fool did not know what he was talking about. Captain Jennings was taken up with what I said, and followed me a short distance and asked what I meant. I told him that I had good reasons for saying what I did, that the day or night after the yawl started up the river with the prospecting party the Lively would be missing; which proved a fact, and she has never been heard of since.

I learned nearly at the outset that these two old hunters and trappers and perhaps Mr. Holston, then some twenty-five or twenty-eight years old, had been to the head waters of the Arkansas, the White, the Ouachita, and the Red and its tributaries. I was also satisfied that they had in their hunting peregrinations up some one or more of these streams, come in contact with Moses Austin, as they averred that he was a trader to Mexico and to Santa Fe.<sup>12</sup> I inferred that his last trip to these places was not the first; that he had once or twice before come through from Bexar by the same route by their home. I learned from young Phelps and Stephen Holston, who were nephews of the Messrs. Lovelace, that they were considered wealthy. They had been cultivating jointly a plantation, making two hundred or two hundred and fifty bales of cotton annually. Now when Moses Austin came through the last time, returning from his trip in May, then sick with fever, he recuperated a little and was furnished with means and a horse to make his way home. These men, the Lovelaces, knew of his probable success in his Texas enterprise, and had promised to give him additional aid, and also to return with him to meet his commissioner at Bexar.<sup>13</sup>

Now when the elder Austin reached his home his disease terminated in pneumonia; and, when information reached him of the success of his application to locate a colony, and his health and condition rendered him unable to accomplish the return trip to San Antonio, he immediately empowered his son to fulfill his contract. Circumstances go to show that his son Stephen F. must have left his father previous to his demise, though it is stated by Yoakum that he left after the father's death, only allowing the colonel twenty-eight days to reach Natchitoches, even if he left the day of

<sup>12</sup> These surmises as to Moses Austin are all incorrect.—G. M. B.

<sup>13</sup> This is a mistake.—G. M. B.

his father's demise; and in addition he could not come direct from Missouri to Natchitoches, as he had to, and did, come via Natchez, and thence by Sicily Island, having to make a detour around Arkansas and North Louisiana to avoid the Indians of those regions. Besides this, Colonel Austin had picked up Messrs. Little and Beard at Terre Haute, where he remained a few days. He reached Sicily Island some time in June, when the Lovelaces and others joined him. They then proceeded to the rendezvous at San Antonio, where they received the confirmation of his claim. They immediately went to designate the outline of his grant, after which they returned to the Lovelace plantation; and coming from there the three, i. e., Colonel Austin, Mr. Hawkins,<sup>14</sup> and Little, met me on the Natchez. Here Colonel Austin had his proposition advertised in the Natchez papers, and the same recopied in one or two New Orleans papers.

I had made up my mind that upon the return of the yawl the Governor and party did not represent fully what they saw and heard while up the river. They said the party at the Bahia crossing could give no information as to the whereabouts of Colonel Austin, therefore it was best to deny seeing any one, as a demoralized spirit was already apparent, and the information they had would heighten this feeling, if known.

I now put down my opinion as to why we could not meet or hear of Colonel Austin up to July 22nd. It was believed that his presence was again necessary at the seat of government on his return from New Orleans in December or January, 1822, and on his return he was detained in company of commissioners selecting and locating the boundaries of his grant; for about this time other grants had been projected for a similar purpose, and they might interfere some and create difficulty in his location.<sup>15</sup>

Now we of the Lively did not reach the mouth of the Brazos, our place of disembarkation, until the 2nd of January, 1822. The scouts sent to find the vessel, in lieu of going on horseback, should have taken the Brazos. They went direct to the San Jacinto. Now, when Colonel Austin arrived on the Brazos about the 1st of January, 1822, he was informed that a change of dynasty had occurred,

<sup>14</sup> A mistake as to Hawkins.—G. M. B.

<sup>15</sup> Austin was in the City of Mexico from April 28, 1822, to April 28, 1823.—G. M. B.



and that his presence was necessary to have his claim confirmed by the existing dictator, Santa Anna. Hence he was absent the whole of the spring until June, 1822. We in the meantime heard any and all sorts of reports about his absence. Political feeling at the capital, Mexico, ran very high; and when Colonel Austin presented his documents, which were made out and signed by the officers of the late emperor Iturbide, he was incarcerated. But through influential parties and the catholic priests—principally the latter, as they were then the power, and also that Austin was and had been raised a catholic<sup>16</sup>—he was not only released, but his claim confirmed. I have every reason to believe that he did not return from the city of Mexico until after July 1st; and this is mere conjecture, for I have never learned when he did return. Up to this time immigration had most evidently increased, and still they came.

<sup>16</sup> This is a mistake.—G. M. B.

## THE ROUTE OF CABEZA DE VACA.

BETHEL COOPWOOD.

*Part I.*

The three principal objects of the first part of this investigation will be:

First, to point out the island of Mal-Hado by certain *indicia* sufficient to distinguish it from all others on the Texas gulf coast. According to the relation of Cabeza de Vaca it must be five leagues long and half a league wide. It must have another island back of it, on which the clergyman and negro lived the first winter, and from which they were brought to Mal-Hado in the spring of 1529. It must have an *ancon* or bay about two leagues wide between it and the mainland. Going along the coast on the main there must be four streams before reaching an *ancon* or bay a league wide, with a tongue of land projecting into it from the Pánuco side; and on reaching the high land on that side there must be visible a high, white sand bank to the southeast. And when all these marks of identity are fairly shown to exist so related to each other, the known law of infinity in the variety of things will require the island so related to them to be Cabeza's Mal-Hado.

Second, to show with reasonable certainty where Cabeza and his companions left their Indian masters and fled to the Avavares. It must be within thirty leagues of a place on a river where there were many very large trees, which bore nuts similar to those of Galicia. It must be in a prickly pear region, where at least two kinds are found, one better than the other. It must be within four or five days' march of a stream in whose vicinity there are trees bearing fruit resembling peas, which hangs on the trees till as late as October. And if these places can be found sustaining such relation to each other, that prickly pear region will be the point from which the unfortunate Spaniards fled when the moon was full on the thirteenth of September to the camp of a party of Avavares, which they reached that day.

Third, to find a crossing of a river about as wide as that at Sevilla, where the water will strike the breast of a man going through it, and beyond this crossing a mountain having a certain position relative to it and reaching to within fifteen leagues of the sea-coast.

When these three principal points shall have been fairly identified, that part of the route belonging to the history of Texas will have been shown with sufficient certainty for historical purposes; and this task, forming the first part of the present paper, written three hundred and sixty-three years after Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca and his companions passed over the route in question, will now be undertaken.

Much of what is found written in Cabeza's relation requires the salt of reason to extract from it the real facts comports with known natural truth. It is something like the testimony in regard to a diversity of incidents and circumstances, which is used to deduce therefrom the main fact it is sought to establish, and may be brought under the rules established by experience and reason in such cases; but those incidents which harmonize with known natural facts should not be rejected, since many of these may still exist and may be collated with the statements made, however confused such statements may be in their order. So the things mentioned in connection with Cabeza's traveling inland as a peddler, when found still existing, may tend with some certainty to identify the places on the ground; while the failure to mention prominent natural objects in noted regions may tend to prove that he did not travel in that direction. And, while the mention of things common in diverse places and extending over many degrees of latitude may not afford strong affirmative evidence in favor of any suggested route on which they may be found, it would be powerful negative evidence against the route not having them. Therefore the data given by Cabeza must be considered both affirmatively and negatively and harmonized, as far as possible, with known natural as well as historical facts, rejecting only such as are absolutely irreconcilable with others well known, or are upon their face purely hyperbolic.

With these rules in view, the whereabouts of the island of Mal-Hado will first be sought as the initial point of the route in question.

With a royal commission to conquer and govern the provinces on the main from Rio de las Palmas to the cape of Florida, Pánfilo de Narvaez sailed from San Lúcar de Barrameda on the 17th of April, 1527. He was detained in Cuban waters, and did not finally reach Florida till April 12, 1528.<sup>1</sup> Soon after landing and wandering inland, he returned to the coast, and failed to find his ships; then he built five small boats and embarked with those of his men still living to go the best way they could to Rio de las Palmas. After many incidents, and after the party was forced out to sea by the current of a great river, the boats were separated, and finally two of them were stranded upon an island, their crews then numbering eighty men, among them being Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca; and this island is the one they called "isla de Mal-Hado," isle of Evil-Fate,<sup>2</sup> from which the route in question began.

The first natural fact leading to the identification of this island is the current in the Mexican Gulf, known as the littoral current, drifting floating objects towards the Texas coast, striking with its greatest force about the northern end of St. Joseph's Island and turning southward down its coast and that of Mustang and Padre islands. And a careful study of this littoral current will show that it was most natural for the boats, once thrown upon it, to be drifted by it to St. Joseph's Island, which is most probably the one they struck on November 6, 1528.<sup>3</sup>

The Indians on that part of the coast were, in later years, called Carancahuaces; and their stature was such as to make them seem to be giants, even without the fear Cabeza says they inspired in the Spaniards.<sup>4</sup>

Cabeza says: "The Indians having Alonso de Castillo and Andrés Dorantes, and the others remaining alive, being of another tongue and other kindred, crossed over to another part of the main to eat oysters, and remained there until the first of April, and then returned to the island, which was, at the widest of the water, two

<sup>1</sup> Naufragios de Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, Cap. I, II.

<sup>2</sup> During the winter they struck the island a plague killed off all but fifteen of them. It was very much like the disease now called cholera, and in 1545 it caused great mortality in Mexico among the natives, who called it matlazahuatl.

<sup>3</sup> Naufragios, Cap. X.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., Cap. XI.

leagues from there, and the island is half a league in width and five leagues in length.”<sup>5</sup>

While this suits St. Joseph’s Island, it can not be adjusted to any of the others from Pass Caballo to the mouth of the Bravo. Matagorda Island is fully ten leagues long,<sup>6</sup> and this fact alone would exclude it from being Mal-Hado, though all of the circumstances, from its end on Cedar Bayou forward on the main, are the same as those from St. Joseph’s Island at the same place; and all the other circumstances of both are about the same, except that there was an island back of Mal-Hado to which the clergyman and negro went the first winter, and whence they were brought back in a canoe by the Indians in the spring, when Castillo and Dorantes returned to the island. Matagorda serves as the island back of St. Joseph’s, from which it is separated by Cedar Bayou.

Mustang Island is nearest the same length as St. Joseph’s, it being about 38,000 varas, or 7 leagues and three-fifths, in length.<sup>7</sup> But the other facts will exclude it.

From a point on the main opposite the mouth of Cedar Bayou about two leagues on, at the head of a small bay now called St. Charles’ Bay, there puts in a stream called Bergantin Creek, which assumes the appearance of a river when swollen by heavy rains. Three leagues further on is Copano River. Thence four leagues is Mission River. From the latter it is five or six leagues to the Aransas River.<sup>8</sup> These make the four crossed before reaching the *ancon* or

<sup>5</sup> Cap. XV. The width of the bay at the crossing of Cedar Bayou is about six miles, or two leagues; and in 1850 St. Joseph’s Island was about fifteen miles long, with an average width of a mile and a half. Captain Thomas Allen, of Corpus Christi, says: “St. Joseph’s Island is fifteen miles long.”

<sup>6</sup> Captain Allen also says: “Matagorda Island is nearly forty miles long, from Cedar Bayou to Saluria.”

<sup>7</sup> Captain J. J. Dix furnishes a certified sketch from the General Land Office, showing this length for Mustang Island.

<sup>8</sup> Wm. T. Dorset, Frank Ayers, and F. M. Prior, who live in that section and have been familiar with the coast for many years, give the following estimate of distances: “From the reef crossing at Corpus Christi to the Aransas River, 30 miles; thence to crossing of Mission River, 15 miles; thence to crossing of Copano River, 11 miles; thence to Bergantin Creek, 12 miles; and thence to Cedar Bayou crossing, 6 miles.” See description of these distances, *infra*.

bay a league wide; and from the Aransas to the reef crossing, where the San Antonio and Aransas Pass railway now crosses the *ancon* between Nueces and Corpus Christi bays, is about ten leagues. So these facts meet and satisfy the description given by Cabeza, who, in speaking of Oviedo, says:<sup>9</sup>

"Each year he delayed me, saying the next we should go. At last, however, I got him out and passed him over the *ancon* and four rivers there are along the coast, because he did not know how to swim; and thus we went on with some Indians until we arrived at an *ancon* a league across and everywhere deep; and from what appeared to us therefrom and what we saw, it is the one they call del Espiritu Santo."

In his translation of Cabeza's relation, Buckingham Smith gives, in an addendum under chapter XVII, an extract from the letter contained in Oviedo's *Historia de las Indias*, as follows:

"The Christians traveled thence" [meaning from where they reached the main from Mal-Hado] "two leagues to a large river that was beginning to swell from freshets and rain, where they made rafts on which they crossed with much difficulty, there being few swimmers. Three leagues further they came to another river, running powerfully from the same cause, and with so much impetuosity that the fresh water for a time extended a good way into the sea. \* \* \*

The ten were now joined by another Christian, and after going four leagues came to a river, where they found a boat which was recognized to be that of the Comptroller, Alonso Enriquez, and the Commissary, but nothing could be seen of the people. Having walked five or six leagues more, they arrived at another large river,<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup> "Cada año me detenía diciendo que el otro siguiente nos iríamos. En fin, al cabo lo saqué y le pasé el *ancon* y cuatro rios que hay por la costa, porque él no sabía nadar, y así fuimos con algunos Indios adelante hasta que llegamos á un *ancon* que tiene una legua de través y es por todas partes hondo; y por lo que de él nos pareció y vimos, es el que llaman del Espíritu Santo." Naufragios, Cap. XVI.

<sup>10</sup> The last of the four is the largest, the Aransas, and if these are the four rivers referred to by Mr. Bandelier, in his note on page 33, it will be seen that he departs widely from the description here given. He says: "It will be seen further on that they crossed four rivers, and that these were the Trinity, Brazos, Colorado, and Rio Grande; hence the meeting must have taken place west of the Sabine and east of the Trinity, or in

where were two ranches, out of which the tenants fled." \* \* \* The Spaniards left the next day, and on the fourth day arrived at a bay, having lost two of their number by hunger and fatigue. Nine only now remained. The bay was broad, nearly a league across. The side towards Pánuco forms a point running out nearly a quarter of a league, having on it some large white sand stacks which it is reasonable to suppose can be descried from a distance at sea, and were consequently thought to mark the river Espiritu Santo." \* \* \* Going on, much depressed by hunger, the greater number swollen by the sea-weed they had eaten, with much exertion, at the end of twelve leagues they came to a small bay, not over the breadth of a river."<sup>11</sup>

All the rivers and the crossing of the bay will fit the journey from the mouth of Cedar Bayou to Corpus Christi, and the point running out for a quarter of a league or more is there; but, from the letter as given by Oviedo and translated by Buckingham Smith, it is not easy to determine whether the sand stacks were on that point

southeast Texas." But as he places the crossing of the Trinity about  $94^{\circ} 45'$  W. and that of the Rio Grande about  $104^{\circ} 45'$  W., they are at least ten degrees apart; while the distances between the first and last of the four these wanderers crossed along the coast is stated at thirteen leagues, or about three-fourths of a degree, making his distance thirteen and one-third times that stated by them. If he means the river "as wide as that at Sevilla," and three others crossed further forward on their route, then the first is crossed after they had met, had gone to where the large trees bore nuts about the size of those of Galicia, had been to the prickly pears twice, and, the last time there, had fled to the Avavares, had spent the winter with them in the prickly pear range, and then gone to the crossing beyond which they found houses and saw the first gourds; and all this would have occurred east of the Trinity River, it being the first he names. It is a well known fact that there are no great quantities of fruit-bearing prickly pears east of the Trinity. It was after crossing the river "as wide as that at Sevilla," and before crossing the next, that they saw the mountain fifteen leagues from the coast; and it is a well known fact that the first mountain within such distance of the coast, going from the mouth of the Mississippi towards Pánuco, is the Pamoranes, south of the Rio Grande. And the fact that this mountain has a stream flowing southward along its west side, and the length of the mountain is about fourteen leagues, will distinguish it from all others. It extends back from the coast slightly west of north.

<sup>11</sup> Relation of Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca. Translation by Buckingham Smith (1871), pp. 95, 96.

or were in fact Flour Bluff at the southeast end of the high lands extending to it from Nueces bay. The latter is the most probable, for all the facts identify Corpus Christi Bay, and Pineda's description places the high sand hills at the southeast portion of the bay he describes; and Cabeza does not say what he saw was where he struck the point of land. But the high points or hills in the northwestern part of Corpus Christi might have been referred to, and the Nueces Bay taken for Espiritu Santo River. And further on the Nueces River was deemed by them to be the Espiritu Santo. The small bay twelve leagues below Corpus Christi, now called Cayo de Grullo, is certainly that to which the party of Castillo and Dorantes went after crossing the *ancon* a league wide. It is narrow and at the proper distance, and is another mark identifying Corpus Christi Bay.

In Smith's addendum under chapter XVII, taken from the letter, it appears that "Asturiano, the clergyman, with a negro, were living [the first winter] on an island where they went for subsistence, situated back of the one on which the boats were lost. The Indians brought them again across the bay in a canoe to the island where were Andrés Dorantes, Alonso de Castillo, Diego Dorantes, Pedro Valdivieso, with six others who had survived cold and hunger."<sup>11a</sup>

This fully shows that Matagorda Island may serve as the one back of St. Joseph's, from which it is separated by the narrow channel now called Cedar Bayou.

The condition they were in being considered, if Dorantes' party followed the coast round from the mouth of Aransas river, it might well have taken them four days to reach the *ancon*, at Corpus Christi; but as Cabeza and Oviedo were accompanied by some Indians, they may have been guided directly to this reef crossing, reaching it in one day.

Taking all these facts together, they present a fair representation of a route on the main from in front of Cedar Bayou to Corpus Christi, which can not be so well fitted to any other portion of the Gulf coast, and it will be presumed that this identifies that part of the route with reasonable certainty.

With Pineda's description in mind, and standing on the high land at Corpus Christi, the white sand bank called Flour Bluff may

<sup>11a</sup>Smith's translation, p. 95.



be seen with the natural eye, while the high land appears to be continuous down to it, seeming to complete the description of Espiritu Santo bay by Pineda; and without paying attention to the courses, or to the fact of his being on the main land, while Pineda viewed the surroundings from his ship in the Gulf, Cabeza might readily conclude it was Espiritu Santo Bay that was then before him, especially when he had not seen the real bay of that name.

When the true Espiritu Santo Bay is viewed from a position at sea east of it, with the face towards the west, to the left will be seen the range of high sand hills or mounds extending along Matagorda Island, and seeming to terminate with what is now called False Live Oak Point, situated at the southeast part of the bay; while the narrow bay or *ancon* separating it from the range of sand mounds is not seen. This point is on the part of the bay marked on some maps as San Antonio Bay; but its identity is well known to those sailing down the bays from Indianola to Corpus Christi.<sup>12</sup>

Speaking of this, Buckingham Smith says:

"Should this point on the shores of Texas be recognized as the one to which the remnant of adventurers have now arrived, the highest peak of sand mounds in latitude  $28^{\circ} 16' 34'' 08$  north, in longitude  $96^{\circ} 47' 39'' 83$  west, we may look with some confidence over the northeastern portion of the bay, as far as the entrance upon the bay of Matagorda, in latitude  $28^{\circ} 24' 06'' 95$  north, longitude  $96^{\circ} 23' 50'' 56$  west, the distance in a direct line of twenty-five statute miles, for the discovery of Mal-Hado. There is, however, no island in this direction that appears to answer its description, nor any place with the conditions for the point that the sand mounds unite. To the south are no hills on the shore of a bay near a river, nor any of particular mark or height as far as where the river Bravo or Grande del Norte finds outlet."<sup>13</sup>

Mr. Smith was doubtless unacquainted with the true topography of the coast there, and, therefore, confounded what was stated by

<sup>12</sup> Captain Thomas Allen, who sailed along there for years, says: "The sandhills on Matagorda Island are about forty feet high, and extend from near Cedar Bayou to opposite False Live Oak Point, on the southeast part of what is now called San Antonio Bay, nine miles from Cedar Bayou. The foot of this point is washed by the water of this San Antonio Bay, which is the southern part of Espiritu Santo Bay."

<sup>13</sup> Smith's translation, Chap. XVI, p. 89.

Cabeza with the statements found in the United States coast survey. But had he been familiar with the coast by land from the northeast portion of Espiritu Santo Bay to Flour Bluff on the southeastern part of Corpus Christi Bay, he might readily have seen from such data that the survivors of the Narvaez expedition struck the main below the high point referred to by Pineda and in the coast survey, and were in fact on Corpus Christi Bay, and subsequently ascertained that a river came in to the west of where they crossed, that is the Nueces. And he would have known that Flour Bluff's relative position to St. Joseph's Island was just what he describes, except degrees of latitude and longitude, as the twenty-five statute miles northeasterly will reach from the former to the latter.<sup>14</sup> He was trying to fit this to False Live Oak Point and Espiritu Santo Bay, and finding that impossible, determined there was no place in existence that the description would fit, without discovering he was trying to harmonize the descriptions of two distinct places and make them apply to one only.

The longitude given by Mr. Smith is a mistake, as  $96^{\circ}$  west passes a short distance west of the mouth of the Brazos river, while  $97^{\circ}$  crosses the southwestern portion of Matagorda peninsula, passing about  $47^{\circ} 39' 83''$  east of False Live Oak Point, and by the rule of construction applicable in such cases, his  $96^{\circ}$  should read  $97^{\circ}$ , to make it harmonize with the other calls, found to be correctly stated as they are on the ground.

The translation making "*moras de zarzas*" mean blackberries<sup>15</sup> is misleading; for the same term is applied to the black dewberries, which are abundant on that part of the coast, and usually ripening in the last days of March or first of April, while the blackberry growing on the brier bush is not found there. Where it is found, further east on the main, it does not ripen till a month or more later.<sup>16</sup> So while these dewberries do not prove any particular island to be Mal-Hado, their abundance on St. Joseph's, ripening by the first of April, satisfies the reference made by Cabeza to "*moras de*

<sup>14</sup> Captain Allen says: "From Flour Bluff to McGloin's Bluff is ten miles, and from the latter to St. Joseph's Island is fourteen miles," thus making the aggregate twenty-four miles.

<sup>15</sup> Smith's translation, Chap. XIV, p. 77.

<sup>16</sup> This information as to the blackberry was kindly furnished by an old settler on Caney Creek.

zarzas," as the vine on which they grow is in fact briery, *zarza* being the common name for brier.

Mustang Island is so situated that crossing to the main from either end of it and going along the coast, would exclude the four streams; and crossing from its southern portion would exclude all of Corpus Christi Bay from the onward route to Pánuco.

Galveston island is twice as long as Mal-Hado is described to be, and could not be connected with either Espiritu Santo or Corpus Christi Bay by any such circumstances as those described by Cabeza; for if Matagorda Bay should be assumed to be the one referred to by Cabeza, they would have had to cross it far to the east of the town of Matagorda, to have done so where it was not more than a league across, and would then have been over seventy miles from the high point of the sand hill, and could not possibly have seen it; but they would have been compelled to cross all the streams putting into the bays from the Colorado to the Guadalupe, at least six in number, before reaching a place from which they could see such sand hill. So this island is excluded from being Mal-Hado.

On this statement of the case, it will be assumed that St. Joseph's Island is the veritable Mal-Hado, on whose seacoast the boats were stranded on the sixth of November, 1528.

On April 1, 1898, the writer ate of those black dewberries, or *moras de zarzas*, at Corpus Christi, and silently contemplated the fate of the tribes once inhabiting the islands and coast along there, and of whom the bones found at the foot of False Live Oak Point and along the banks of the Cala del Oso are the only visible remains to show that they ever lived and held Spanish slaves in this region.<sup>17</sup> Such, he said mentally, are the changes in the affairs of men within 362 years, since Cabeza was here, while nature still maintains the same marks of identity and infinite variety in unity.

In the light of all the foregoing facts, a reference stake, marked A, may be set on the northern end of St. Joseph's Island to mark Mal-Hado, as hereafter referred to; and another may be set opposite the mouth of Cedar Bayou, marked B, to designate

<sup>17</sup> Delmars Givens, an attorney of Corpus Christi, and stepson of J. H. Kuykendall, says: "When I was a boy, living there on the bay, I often saw the human bones washed out by the water at the foot of False Live Oak Point. My stepfather also saw them and noted the fact in his manuscript." The bones on the Cala del Oso have been found in quantities down to within the last ten years.

the point at which the route in question began on the main. And on a point of the high land at Corpus Christi, in front of the cathedral, another may be set, marked C, to designate the spot where Cabeza and Oviedo met the Indians who gave them notice of Dorantes, Castillo, and the negro being with other Indians, and the spot where Cabeza stood when he saw what made him believe the bay there was the one "they call del Espiritu Santo."

The object Cabeza and Oviedo had in view and the various facts and circumstances bearing upon and influencing their actions, should here be well considered. Though seeming to be close friends, they evinced unmistakable signs of dissimilar temperaments. But it may not be proper to judge either of them without full knowledge of all the facts and circumstances influencing his conduct.

Those acquainted with the history of the conquest of Mexico, written by Solís, or with what Gómara said on the same subject, may remember the difference in the conduct of the two survivors of the expedition to the sea of Darien, when Cortes sent them the request to come out and join him at the isle of Cozumel. One being a priest, without wife or children, obeyed the summons; but the other, having married the cacique's daughter and begotten upon her three children, declined to manifest that kind of patriotism requiring him to abandon his family in order to join a few of his countrymen in an uncertain adventure. Cancel the facts as to the condition of these two men, and we have a parallel to the case of Cabeza and Oviedo, who may also have been actuated by circumstances widely different.

From what has already been said, it is apparent that Cabeza knew that Pánuco was on the gulf south of him. There they saw the coast stretching out to the south, showing they had passed the north-west curve of it and entered upon the southward course of the west border of the gulf, leading down to Pánuco, according to Pineda's map, and he knew that was the nearest settlement of Christians when they last had communication with civilized men. But it is impossible that he could have known anything of the operations of Guzman in search of the Amazons in Jalisco and up the borders of the Gulf of California.

In his note 2 under chapter XVI of his translation, Mr. Smith says of the expressions concerning the bay that seemed to be Espiritu Santo:

"These, and other words of like import in Biedma, perhaps refer

to discoveries made on the first voyage of Pineda, who ran the northern shore of the Gulf of Mexico for Garay in the year 1519. That Alvar Nuñez was informed of the extent of northern explorations may be supposed from a document existing of record from the king, directing him to apply to the officers of the *Contratacion* in Sevilla, 'of whom, outside of this instruction, you will ask a relation of the notices that it shall appear to them you ought to have knowledge of, and to possess touching the matters of that country.' "

In his "Mojones de los Indios por hacia el Norte," Gómara mentions Espiritu Santo Bay in rather a confused manner, by omitting before it one of Pineda's calls and putting Rio de Piscadores where the bay should have been named, in 28° 30' N. From there he says: "Hay cien leguas hasta el rio de las Palmas, por cerca del cual atraviesa el tropico de Cancro. Del rio de Palmas al Rio Pánuco hay mas de treinta leguas." There are one hundred leagues to the Rio de las Palmas, near to which crosses the tropic of Cancer. From the Rio de las Palmas to the Rio Pánuco there are more than thirty leagues. And as Gómara wrote after 1540 and published in 1553, before the survey was made by Villafañe and Seron in 1561, he must have obtained his information from the *Contratacion* at Sevilla, or from a copy of Pineda's map in Madrid. So we may presume that Cabeza expected to find the Pánuco settlements within one hundred and thirty leagues from where he took the bay to be the one called Espiritu Santo,—and this seemed to be the common impression of those cast upon Mal-Hado; from which place they sent out four of their party to go along the coast to Pánuco. And Cabeza says: "We also agreed that four men of the most robust should go on to Pánuco, which we believed to be near,"<sup>18</sup> this being when they first got on the island, and before they had seen the bay they thought to be Espiritu Santo. The way to Pánuco was what he thought to find out while peddling; and he explored the coast down for forty or fifty leagues, and tells the names of the tribes he met along there; and when he told Castillo his "purpose was to go to a land of Christians, and that in this pursuit and search I was going,"<sup>19</sup> he doubtless meant the Spanish settlements in the province of Pánuco. All this shows that they were aiming for Pánuco when they finally ran

<sup>18</sup> Naufragios, Cap. XIII.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., Cap. XVII.

off to the Avavares. And further on it will be seen that they were within twenty leagues of the Gulf coast four or five days after crossing the Bravo. Then the conclusion follows, that when Cabeza and Oviedo separated, the former was fully resolved to make his way finally to the Spaniards at Pánuco, and the latter to spend his days with the Indians.

The next important point is the place where Cabeza and his comrades left their Indian masters and fled to the Avavares.

While Cabeza is not very clear about how long it was after hearing of his countrymen till he met them, it is plain that they did not meet until two days after Oviedo turned back to the women.

Of the Indians they met there, Cabeza says: "They also said that if we desired to see those three Christians, three days from then the Indians who had them were coming to eat nuts one league from there, on the bank of that river."<sup>20</sup>

How are the parts of this statement to be understood? How long did he and Oviedo stay with those Indians, and how many days were they suffering the cruel treatment he mentions? Had they moved on in any direction in the meantime? While Cabeza does not plainly answer these questions, he does say those women who crossed the *ancon*<sup>21</sup> with them were some distance behind when Oviedo determined to go back with them, which may have occurred three or more days journey from where they crossed.

"Two days after Lope de Oviedo had gone, the Indians who had Alonso del Castillo and Andrés Dorantes came to the same place that they had told us of to eat of those nuts with which they maintain themselves, grinding some small grains with them, two months of the year, without eating anything else, and even this they do not have every year, because one they are produced and another not. They are of the size of those of Galicia, and the trees are very large, and there are a great many of them."<sup>22</sup>

These were not black walnut trees, else he would have applied to them the term *nogales*, as he did to the walnut trees in Florida,<sup>23</sup> and would have called the nuts *nueces encarciladas* or *silvestres*, to

<sup>20</sup> Naufragios, Cap. XVI.

<sup>21</sup> This word is usually applied to very small bays and the narrow passages connecting large bays.

<sup>22</sup> Naufragios, Cap. XVII.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., Cap. VII.

distinguish them from the small fine nuts of Galicia, which are like the English walnuts of commerce, but smaller, and are also much the same as the *nuez de Castillo*, known in Spanish commerce. Never having seen the pecan trees or nuts in Spain, he had to convey the idea of them by description, for want of a common name. And the description that the trees bear one year and another not, applies to many of the pecan trees in Western Texas.

All this does not point out the river on which these pecan trees were found; but Cabeza says:

“When the six months that I stayed with the Christians waiting to put in execution the agreement we had made were completed, the Indians went off to the prickly pears, *it being thirty leagues from there to where they gather them.*”<sup>24</sup>

From the bend in the San Antonio River, a little east of north from Tordilla and above the mouth of Cibolo Creek, to Loma Alta in McMullen county, or to Picacho in Duval county, it is less than thirty leagues, and that region along the dividing line between these two counties being in the heart of the prickly pear range, it may be assumed to be where they went to eat these pears; and the bend in the San Antonio River being in the midst of a pecan region, it may be taken as the centre of their nut range. So a stake may be set at the latter, marked D, to mark the pecan groves, and another on the west side of Picacho, marked E, to designate the centre of the pear range. All round this point there is abundance of the common *cactus opuntia*, bearing the greatest quantity of large red prickly pears, which, when first eaten in the season, cause a sickness similar to dengue fever; and the *cacanapo*, bearing a small pear of fine flavor and a pleasant aroma, and never causing such sickness, is also abundant there; but this *cacanapo* pear is not known further north beyond the Nueces River.

Speaking of this place, Cabeza says: “There are many kinds of prickly pears, and among them there are some very good, although to me all seemed so, and hunger never gave me time to select or to consider which were the best. Most of the people drink rain water standing in some places; because, although there are rivers, as they are never settled, they never have known nor designated watering places.”<sup>25</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Naufragios, Cap. XIX.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

And during the rainy seasons the water stands in small ponds all through that region. Throughout that section both kinds of prickly pears are abundant. So it suits the description far better than any other place in Texas; and the trees bearing a fruit similar to peas will be pointed out at the proper distance from this point when treating of the march after they leave here.

In what Figueroa says he heard from Esquivel, as given by Cabeza, it is said of these Indians:

"For them the best time they have is when they eat the prickly pears, because then they do not have hunger, and the time is passed by them in dancing."<sup>26</sup>

In his account of the nations and tongues, Cabeza places these Indians as neighbors to the Mariames and Iguaces, and where there are no stones, probably in the northern portion of Hidalgo County, as he places the Iguaces inland next to the Guaycones who lived on the coast.<sup>27</sup>

In the addendum of Mr. Smith under Chapter XVIII of his translation, it is said of these Indians:

"The Spaniards lived here fourteen months, from May to the May ensuing of the year 1530, and to the middle of the month of August, when Andrés Dorantes, being at a place that appeared most favorable for going, commended himself to God, and went off at midday. \* \* \* Castillo tarried among that hard people a year and a half later, until an opportunity presented for starting; but on arriving he found only the negro; Dorantes, discovering that Indians unbearably cruel had gone back more than twenty leagues to a river near Espiritu Santo, among those who had killed Esquivel."<sup>27a</sup>

Taking the Nueces river as that to which Dorantes went back, the twenty leagues would place the unbearably cruel Indians he left in the sand below Santa Rosa and La Parra.

In the same addendum it is said: "After the practice of this exercise [meaning running the deer into salt water] once or twice the Indians, leaving the salt water, take up their journey and

<sup>26</sup> Naufragios, Cap. XVIII.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., Cap. XXVI.

<sup>27a</sup> This is quoted literally from Smith's translation, but the printer must have dropped the word *were* after "Indians," or made some like mistake — EDITOR QUARTERLY.



go inland to eat prickly pears, which they begin upon as they ripen, about August." This fixes these Indians at their homes on the coast, and shows they knew of the prickly pears inland, though they were twenty leagues below the Nueces river, and in pursuing Cabeza's route from the prickly pear region with the Avavares, their place at the end of these twenty leagues will have a bearing upon the direction these survivors are going.

It seems from his list of the nations and tongues along the coast and opposite to these inland, that Cabeza knew these cruel Indians on the coast before finally starting away with the Avavares, and he must have known the course he was going was parallel to the coast

Of his peddling, Cabeza says:

"And now with my business and my wares, I entered inland as far as I pleased, and along the coast I went forty or fifty leagues. The principal parts of my stock in trade were pieces of shells of red conchs and the inside parts of them and sea shells with which they cut a fruit that is like beans, with which they doctor themselves and make their dances and feasts; and this is the thing of highest appreciation there is among them; and beads of the sea and other things. So this was what I carried inland; in exchange and barter for them I bought skins and ocher, with which they rub and paint their faces and hair; and flints for points of arrows, glue and hard stalks to make them, and some balls made of deer's hair, which they dye and make red; and this occupation was agreeable to me, because, going on in it, I had liberty to go where I pleased, and was not obliged to do anything and was not a slave, and wherever I went they treated me well and gave me something to eat, out of respect for my merchandise; and this principally because pursuing it, I sought the way by which I would have to go forward, and among them I was very well known."<sup>28</sup>

This opens a field for inquiry. To what point did he go along the coast, and what Indians did he meet with on the way? What direction, how far, and to what place did he go inland? Where did he make his exchanges? If the flint and ocher were there close together then, may they not be so still? And proper answers to these questions may shed important light upon the subject under consideration.

<sup>28</sup> Naufragios, Cap. XVI.

If he reckoned from in front of Mal-Hado, then his forty or fifty leagues down the coast reached the Arroyo Colorado, and within forty miles of the present city of Brownsville. And his acquaintance with the habitations and names of the tribes along the coast shows that he did go along there. He says:

"In the isle of Mal-Hado there are two tongues; the people of one are called Coaques, of the other, Han. On the main, in front of the island are others, called de Chorrueo, and they take the name of the woods where they live. Further ahead, on the coast of the sea, there live others called Doguenes, and in front of them others who have for their name los de Mendiea. Further forward on the coast are the Guevenes, and in front of them, in on the main land, the Mariames, and going forward along the coast, are others called Guaycones, and in front of these, inland on *tierra firme*, the Iguaces. At the end of these are others called Atayos, and behind these, others Acubadaos, and of these there are many forward along this path. On the coast live others called Quitoles, and in front of these, within on the main land, are the Avavares.<sup>29</sup> There unite with these the Maliacones and other Cutalchiches, and others called Susolas, and others called Comos. And forward on the coast are the Camoles, and on the same coast, others we called los de los Higos. All these tribes have habitations and villages and tongues diverse."<sup>30</sup>

There are six tribes mentioned as living along the coast from in front of Mal-Hado and eleven living inland opposite to the six. If each of these six tribes be allowed eight leagues space along the coast, they will extend down forty-eight leagues, showing that Cabeza traveled along the coast that distance; and it will be shown further on that these Avavares, Maliacones, etc., were on his path near where he crosses the river as wide as that at Sevilla, and where he ends chapter XXV of his relation to introduce this account of the nations and tongues. From this it will appear that he was traveling down parallel with the coast.

Cabeza does not state the distance or direction he traveled inland to where he made his exchanges or barter; but these facts may be ascertained from the natural things he obtained there.

*"Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas."*

<sup>29</sup> These Avavares are the ones they went to when they ran off.

<sup>30</sup> Naufragios, Cap. XXVI.

While describing the march inland in Florida, Cabeza mentions the different large timbers and the fallen pines,<sup>31</sup> and had he, as some contend, gone inland to the north or northeast from Mal-Hado, he would have found pine forests worthy of his notice, before reaching the borders of Red River. Indeed before he crossed Trinity river the large trees would have challenged his attention; and such would have been the grandeur of the forest he traversed before reaching the Adaes village, that his memory could not have omitted it when writing the *Naufragios*. Indeed it kept fresh the impressions of the thorns in the chapparals on the border of the Bravo, showing he never dreamed of going north from Mal-Hado.

If the coast from St. Joseph's Island to the Arroyo Colorado be taken as the base line from which to raise the perpendicular inland, the place where he got the ocher, flints and skins may be sought to the west as far as the Bravo.

There is an abundance of red ocher on the left margin of the Bravo not far below the town of Carrizo in Zapata County, and a fine, hard quality of flint rock on the same margin above the mouth of Beleño Creek, the two being close together; and the mortars in the rocks along there, used by the ancient tribes to beat their mesquite beans, are still to be seen. There are varadulce, barreta, and other hard woods growing there, from the stalks or sprouts of which arrows were made. The *arrundo fragmites*, or carrizo, growing round there was also used for arrows. The Carrizo Indians living along the river there were hunters when the Spanish settlers first came there, and doubtless had skins to barter to Cabeza. There are signs of very ancient habitations in that quarter, and many Indians may have lived there when Cabeza was peddling. When Captain Sanchez first brought his flocks to where Laredo is now, in 1755, he found these Carrizo Indians living on Zacate Creek, now embraced by the limits of Laredo. All these Indians used the mesquite beans and probably used the conch shells to cut them to pieces, affording Cabeza ample consumption for his commodities.

On these trips inland Cabeza must have passed through much of the prickly pear range; and from what he says, it seems that he already knew the Avavares, the tribe to which he went when he ran away from his Indian masters.

Now returning to reference stake E in the prickly pear region,

<sup>31</sup> Smith's translation, Chap. V.

and promising to show the tree bearing fruit like peas further on, the time they ran off to the Avavares will be ascertained.

While Cabeza does not in direct terms state the date of their running off to the Avavares, he does state facts and circumstances from which it may be ascertained with reasonable certainty. And these will be presented to enable each reader to determine for himself the most probable date of their flight from their masters in the prickly pear section.

Cabeza says they struck Mal-Hado on the sixth of November, 1528.<sup>32</sup>

He remained with the Indians there for more than a year.<sup>33</sup> He says he remained with others six years.<sup>34</sup>

He spent two winters with the Indians having his companions, and who went to eat the nuts.<sup>35</sup> This runs into 1537, or a year after the date he reached the Spanish settlers.

A little reasoning is necessary to reconcile these conflicting statements; and as the new moon was seen by Cabeza on the first of September, and it was full on the thirteenth, the day fixed to run off,<sup>36</sup> a year in which this could have occurred will mark that in which they fled.

In a note under his translation, chapter XIX, Mr. Smith gives a tabular statement prepared by Professor Keith, U. S. N., showing the new moons that occurred nearest the first of September, both Old and New Style, from 1530 to 1540; and as the New Style began after Cabeza's time, the Old, or Julian Style, will govern; for Pope Gregory XIII made his retrenchment of ten days in 1582, to bring back the vernal equinox to the same day as at the time of the council of Nice, A. D. 325; and the act of parliament in Great Britain, retrenching eleven days and making the third the fourteenth of September, was passed in 1752, and from it New Style has continued.

In the table referred to, only two years have the new moon near the first of September, Old Style, from 1530 to 1540. It occurred

<sup>32</sup> Naufragios, Cap. X.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., Cap. XVI.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., Cap. XIX.

on August 30, 1532, and August 28, 1535; and between these two years the decision must be made by reference to other facts.

Cabeza remained with the Indians of Mal-Hado two winters, and must have left then in the spring of 1530; and if all the time he peddled should be omitted, he would have gone with Castillo and Dorantes to where they ate the nuts that same fall. He returned to the prickly pear region the next summer, making it 1531. He went back and came again to the prickly pears the next summer, making that the year 1532. So it is apparent that if he ran off to the Avavares in 1532, he did not peddle at all, and did not make any annual trips back to Mal-Hado to see Oviedo, whom he would have had to bring out at once when he first left the island. And this would require him to have passed four winters on the way before reaching the Spanish settlement, in April, 1536, while he accounts for but one, which he spent with the Avavares. Thus it is plain that the theory making him run off to the Avavares in September, 1532, would render the whole story farcical.

Adopting the year 1535, and allowing each main fact to be true, except as to the precise time appropriated to it, the story would run as follows:

He remained with the Indians of Mal-Hado the winter he got there and the following winter, till March, 1530; he then peddled until the fall of 1533, when he met his comrades, and went to the pecan trees and remained there until the next prickly pear season in 1534, when the Indians had the trouble about the woman, causing them to separate and carry the Spaniards away with them. After the next winter, that of 1534-5, they came back to the prickly pear region in the summer of 1535, when they made their escape to the Avavares. This allows Cabeza the time he claims to have spent at Mal-Hado and with the Indians who ate the nuts, and a little over three years to peddle, whereas he says almost six. This would harmonize with the statement of only one winter after going to the Avavares before reaching the Spanish settlements. And as the moon changed 5.1 p. m. on the 28th of August, 1535, and might not have been seen by them till about the first of September, and Cabeza says it was the first day of September and "the first of the moon," when the Indians separated, and that it was full moon and 13th day of the month when the others came to him and they ran off, and the moon actually full at four minutes before noon on the 12th, it is

most probable that they counted it full the 13th. And this is, perhaps, the most rational way to consider Cabeza's statement.

Again the main party left the island on the first of April, 1529, and in May of that year some of them got with a tribe of Indians and remained with them fourteen months, till August of the next year, 1530, when Andrés went off at midday; and Castillo remained there a year and a half later, which was till the middle of February, 1532. Andrés Dorantes went back "more than twenty leagues to a river near the bay of Espiritu Santo, among those who killed Esquivel," \* \* \* ; "and this hidalgo Dorantes states, that in the course of four years he had been a witness to the killing or burying alive of eleven or twelve young males, and rarely do they let a girl live." :

This extract, taken from Cabeza's letter as found in Oviedo and quoted, in the addendum under the translation of chapter XVIII of Cabeza's relation, by Mr. Smith, affords a basis for calculation. If Dorantes lived four years in all among the Indians who killed their children, he having left Mal-Hado on the first of April, 1529, that would make it April, 1533, when he left them; and it must have been in the fall of that year that he met with Cabeza; for he was two winters and till prickly pear season following the second with the Indians, after meeting Cabeza, before they ran off at the full of the moon in September, 1535, making his account and nature's unerring testimony harmonize. Again if Castillo remained with those cruel Indians a year and a half after Dorantes left, say till February, 1532, and then went to the Iguaces, and with them met Cabeza in the fall of that year, as they were going to the place where they ate the nuts, he could not have fled in September of that same year, as they spent two winters after meeting before they ran away; thus making it impossible for them to have fled on the thirteenth of September, 1532. But allowing him to have been with the Iguaces a year and eight months before meeting Cabeza, that would make the meeting about the middle of October, 1533, and after passing the two nut seasons, it would have to be in the summer of 1535 that they went to the prickly pears and there ran off in September. This also harmonizes with nature's testimony, spoken through the full moon. So these facts as to Dorantes and Castillo afford cogent affirmative proof of their having run off to the Avavares in September, 1535, and unanswerable negative evidence against their having done so in September, 1532.

While this view of the subject may be unobsequious to the wild theories of highly imaginative writers on the subject, it meets the prime object of history, to shed the light of truth and sound reason upon the route in question, irrespective of conflicting positions assumed in regard to it.

They left their masters in the prickly pear region, say where reference stake E was set, on the thirteenth of September, 1535, and reached the camp of the Avavares that same day.<sup>37</sup> They remained there five days, having determined to winter with these Avavares. Then they left there with these Indians, and at the end of five days reached a stream where they pitched their tents and went out to hunt a fruit borne by trees and resembling peas. Cabeza got lost and after wandering five days found his companions on the bank of a stream, and next day they all went where they found abundance of prickly pears.<sup>38</sup>

About sixty miles by a right line, from where reference stake E was placed in the prickly pear region, there is a stream on either side of which the *ebanito*, or scrub ebony, is found, bearing a fruit which resembles the large sized English pea very much when green; and it hangs on the trees till late in the season.<sup>39</sup> This stream passes down by Sweden, Aguapoquita, and Concepcion in Duval county; and the owner of Concepcion, Don Julian Palacios, says this fruit, called *maguacatas*, is still plentiful in that region. When its pods are full grown, but still green, it is gathered and either boiled or roasted in hot embers, and then taken out of the hull and eaten; and so prepared it is very palatable. It is often used as a substitute for coffee when dry. But it is not to be found above latitude 28°N. It is, in fact, the only native tree fruit to be found in Texas so closely resembling the English pea pod in form.

Now Cabeza and his comrades have gone at least sixty miles southward with these Avavares, and nearly parallel with the Gulf coast. Why were they going in that direction?

In his relation Cabeza says:

<sup>37</sup> Naufragios, Cap. XIX, XX.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., Cap. XXI.

<sup>39</sup> The pods turn dark and hang on the tree as late as December. John M. Priour gathered two dozen from a tree on his place near Corpus Christi in October, 1898, and gave them to the writer.

1. That the governor's territory was from the Rio de las Palmas to the Cape of Florida.<sup>40</sup>

2. After they had been delayed on their voyage in the small boats, they again sailed along the coast *en route* for Rio de las Palmas.<sup>41</sup>

3. After they were cast on the island, they determined to send four men forward to Pánuco.<sup>42</sup>

4. Cabeza sought to know the way by which he would have to go forward.<sup>43</sup>

5. When they crossed the *ancon* a league wide, they believed the bay there was Espiritu Santo, showing they knew of Pineda's map.<sup>44</sup>

6. Cabeza says Mendez went the best he could on the way to Pánuco.<sup>45</sup>

7. He tells of the nations and tongues along the coast.<sup>46</sup>

8. His aim was to go to a country of Christians.<sup>47</sup>

9. After Castillo and Dorantes, with the others, crossed the *ancon*, from Mal-Hado, all thirteen went away along the coast.<sup>48</sup>

10. After crossing a river as large as that at Sevilla, and traveling three more days, they saw the mountains they believed to reach to within fifteen leagues of the sea coast.<sup>49</sup>

All this shows that they not only knew the course to the settlements in the province of Pánuco, but that it was their object to go there; and it would require something more than mere conjecture to prove the contrary.

When Cabeza found his companions after being lost five days, they told him they had traveled to that place with great hunger; and in going from the neighborhood of Concepcion westward to

<sup>40</sup> Naufragios, Cap. I.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., Cap. IX.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., Cap. XIII.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., Cap. XVI.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., Cap. XVII.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., Cap. XXVI.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., Cap. XXVII.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., Cap. XVI.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., Cap. XXVIII.



Charcos on the heads of the Beleño Creek in Zapata county, they would have to cross a prairie country of over sixty miles in width, where there would be a scarcity of prickly pears, and no other fruit. This must have been a journey on which they would have to suffer with hunger. Cabeza doubtless knew the place where he found them, and went there at last in hopes of finding them there. He had gone there, perhaps, on his peddling trips, to follow the Beleño down to the place where he got the flints and ocher. This was in the home range of the Avavares, which extended down to the Bravo, and possibly down it some distance.

It seems that they remained in this region with the Avavares for some time, as Cabeza says: "Even they have the very greatest hunger, because they have no corn, nor acorns, nor nuts; neither do they eat fish."<sup>50</sup>

On the Beleño there are neither oaks nor pecan trees, and the dense jungles there prevented their planting corn. And Cabeza says, "of eight months we remained with them, six of them we suffered much hunger."<sup>51</sup>

Indeed there is very little to be found there to sustain human life, after the prickly pears are gone, except game.

Cabeza's description of how he got fire wood there that winter will best serve to give an idea of the country. He says: "And the country is so rough and closed, that many times we gathered fuel in woods where, when we had gotten it out, the blood was running from us in many places, on account of the thorns and plants we encountered, which tore us wherever they touched us. At times it happened to me to have to get fuel where, after it had cost me much blood, I could not get it out either on my shoulders or by dragging it. When in these labors, I had no other remedy or consolation than that of thinking of the passion of our Redeemer, Jesus Christ, and the blood he spilt for me, and considering how much more may have been the torment he suffered from the thorns than I then suffered."<sup>52</sup>

If there were no other thing by which to determine where Cabeza and his comrades wintered, than this description, it would render futile any attempt to place the locality outside of the thorny jungles

<sup>50</sup> Naufragios, Cap. XXII.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

and prickly pear thickets along the borders of the Bravo. And if there is a place in the country fully coming up to this thorny standard, it is along the slopes of the ridge called the Bordo and the banks of the Beleño in Zapata county; and further developments will completely identify this as the place where they wintered with the Avavares.

The next day after Cabeza found his companions, they all went where there were prickly pears in great abundance, and there satisfied their great hunger.<sup>53</sup>

It is a fact that some cacti have the fruit on the plants until even in December. This was the case near Alice in Nueces county in 1898, where it could be seen from the cars in passing there on the railway.

Just how long they remained here where they satisfied their hunger is not stated, but it must have been until in January, 1536, as their time after leaving there is very well accounted for until they reach and cross the river. From that place they went to where the Cutalchiches and Maliacones, that are of other tongues, were eating prickly pears; and there were also Coayos and Susolas, and Atayos there.<sup>54</sup>

This shows that they were going on southward, parallel with the coast, in company with the Avavares, with whom these Maliacones and Cutalchiches are the last named in the list as dwelling inland.

Two days after they arrived among these Indians some Susolas came beseeching Castillo to go and cure a wounded man and others who were sick. The Susolas are next to the last on Cabeza's list; and they remembered that he had doctored them where they ate the nuts. This is where Cabeza says they cured the dead man.<sup>55</sup>

This shows that these Susolas ranged north as far as the pecan groves; and they may have gone as far in the opposite direction at times.

Here Cabeza again mentions the Cutalchiches, who bid him goodby, giving him the best of all they had, and then says: "We remained with these Avavares Indians eight months, and this count we made by the moons."<sup>56</sup> But this count is no doubt exaggerated.

<sup>53</sup> Naufragios, Cap. XXI.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., Cap. XXII.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

because eight months from the thirteenth of September, 1535, when they got with these Avavares, would reach the thirteenth of April, 1536, only thirteen days later than his arrival at the Spanish settlements.

Now they begin to lead off on their route again.

From where they raised the dead man, they went to the Maliacones, who are also named in the list as living inland. This was one day's journey, and Cabeza and the negro went to the place, and three days later sent for Castillo and Dorantes, and on the arrival of those, they all started off with those Indians to where they joined others called Arbadaos, and those who came with them returned by the same road. This is where they bartered for the two dogs and ate them.<sup>57</sup> And they are now away from the Avavares, and fairly on their journey.

They went on with the Arbadaos and reached others of the same tongue; and from there they journeyed on in the rain till night. Passing the woods, the next day they found other houses of Indians, and that night arrived at fifty houses, where they passed the night. On leaving there they left those Indians crying.<sup>58</sup>

This was on the Beleño, and the Indians being of those named in Cabeza's list, he may have made their acquaintance while peddling in coming to the flint rocks and ocher beds near there; hence his leaving them was the cause of much sorrow, and they were crying.

In chapters XXIV and XXV of his relation Cabeza tells the customs of the Indians in the country, and in XXVI he gives the list of the nations and tongues already referred to. All this is done preparatory to the account of crossing the river; and still he is with Indians named in his list as living back of those he names as living on the coast.

Leaving those who wept at parting, they went with the others to their houses, where they were given much flour of mezquiquez, the description given showing it to be made from mesquite beans—the fruit of the wild carob, from which the Indians of Mexico make bread.<sup>58a</sup> This was on the lower part of the Beleño, where there are

<sup>56</sup> Naufragios, Cap. XXII.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., Cap. XXIII.

<sup>58a</sup> Dic. Cast. h. v.

many holes or mortars in the rocks, showing that the ancient inhabitants ground their mesquite beans in them to make what is now called mezquitamal, still used, not only by the remnants of the ancient tribes, but by many of the Mexicans living along the borders of the Bravo.

What time they spent here eating mesquite bean flour is not stated; but as it is a settlement not far from the flint and ocher, Cabeza's exchanges may have been with them, and as a matter of friendship, he may have remained with them some days.

When they desired to proceed, some women of a tribe living further on arrived there, and told where their houses were. They started to go there, the women following them. At four leagues they drank water, and were overtaken by the women. Leaving there with these women for guides, they crossed a river in the evening, the water coming up to their breasts, which may be as wide as that at Sevilla, and it flowed swiftly. At sunset they arrived where there were one hundred Indian houses.<sup>59</sup>

Along below the mouth of the Beleño the Bravo is about as wide as the Guadalquivir at Sevilla, and flows with considerable current, especially at the shallow places.

Now, after passing all the tribes Cabeza names as living inland from those enumerated as living along the coast, they have crossed the Rio Grande, and a knowledge of the country will enable us to identify the ford at which they passed out of what is now the State of Texas. This being all of the route in question properly belonging to Texas history, and therefore meriting most special attention here, let it be seen what further light may be shed upon it by a retrospective view.

At the first houses after crossing the river, the people were rejoicing over their arrival, and received them with much clapping of hands on the thighs; and Cabeza says: "The fear and confusion of the Indians was so great, that striving to get to us and touch us, the ones before the others, they pressed upon us so that they were near killing us."<sup>60</sup>

Here they first saw the perforated gourds, and were told by the Indians that they came from heaven, and the rivers, when swollen,

<sup>59</sup> Naufragios, Cap. XXVII.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., Cap. XXVII.

brought them.<sup>61</sup> So there were at least two rivers there, and the junction of the Rio Grande and Rio Salado, near the town of Carizzo, meets this description. The Salado and its affluents drain nearly one-half of the state of Coahuila and a considerable portion of Nuevo Leon and Tamaulipas, in many of the valleys of which territory the Indians had these gourds when the Spaniards first came among them. The Mexicans used them as canteens as late as 1850, and still use them in some places.

Another coincidence there is the general abundance of mesquite, bearing the beans from which the flour Cabeza mentions was made; and all round on both sides of the rivers are still to be found the mortars or holes in the rocks in which they were ground.

The description of the route of Cabeza and his companions from the prickly pear range, where the reference stake E was set to the Aguapoquita Creek and to the ranch of Concepcion, and thence across the prairie to Charcos, is sufficiently plain; and from there to the one hundred houses, where they got the mezquite flour, embraces all the time they spent with the Avavares, in the most dense jungles and prickly pear thickets, where the thorns to refresh Cabeza's memory not only made him think of the crown of thorns worn by his Savior, but so impressed him that he did not forget them when writing to the Emperor Charles V.

The place of one hundred houses, where he got the mesquite flour, was the last before crossing the river. It was, perhaps, at the place called Charco del Tule, or el Tule, and must have been known to Cabeza in his peddling days, as it is within four leagues of both the flint rocks and the beds of red ocher. And it is less than five leagues from the Jamaica crossing, which suits the description given by Cabeza, and will now be assumed to be where he crossed the river. So let a reference stake marked F be set on the left margin of the Bravo here at this Jamaica crossing, to designate the place where Cabeza and his comrades crossed in the early part of 1536.<sup>62</sup>

As the count of the months spent with the Avavares was by moons, and anxiety to reach a land of Christians may have made each moon seem two, no certain day for the crossing of the Bravo

<sup>61</sup> Naufragios, Cap. XXVII.

<sup>62</sup> The mouth of Beleño is three miles above Jamaica crossing. The flint rock is a mile above there. The ochre is there in several places, both red and yellow.

will be named; but the mention of some things would indicate that it might have been about the first of February.

The onward march from the first houses after crossing the river will still further identify the Jamaica as the proper crossing. On leaving the Indian houses not far from the ford, they went to other Indians, where they were well received and given the venison killed that day.

In 1750 there was a village of Indians about a day's march from the Jamaica crossing, and on the sixth of March, 1753, Escandon established the town of Mier there, on the bank of a small stream called del Álamo. These Indians being of the tribes called Garzas and Malaguecos, who were of the most docile and timid character, of their own volition congregated with the Spanish settlers, and did not rebel against Mier's being founded on lands they had occupied in past epochs. Some years later they became mixed with the families of the new settlers, losing their languages and entering completely into a new life.<sup>63</sup>

These Malaguecos may have been the same tribe Cabeza called Maliacones that went with the Avavares, whose territory or range may have extended down the Bravo to in front of Mier, a place ever to be remembered by Texans, which marks the spot where Cabeza and his comrades spent the first night after leaving the place where they saw the gourds.

The next day they went to other Indians, perhaps on the little stream where Zamora now stands, or on the San Juan, where Peña-blanca is now. They went from there to where were the numerous houses and lighter colored Indians, many of whom Cabeza says were blind of one eye. But allowance for his inclination to magnify will show that these were the Indios Blancos of that section, as he says they were whiter than any Indians they had seen until then. Since the earliest explorations in this section these peculiar Indians have been known under different names, given by the Spaniards to designate them; as *Borrados* (blotted), *Rayones* (striped), *Blancos* (white), etc., and were understood to be of the Nahoia family; and at that time there were families of them where Monterey is now and in the surrounding country.<sup>64</sup>

<sup>63</sup> Prieto: *Historia Geografica y Estadística del Estado de Tamaulipas*, pp. 186-7.

<sup>64</sup> Velasco: *Geografia y Estadística*, Nuevo Leon, p. 8.

In 1750 they were known under the name of Borrados on the left margin of the Bravo at Dolores, above where the town of Carrizo now stands; some families of them being then congregated there with others of the Carrizo tribe.<sup>65</sup> When Escandon explored the country along Rio Conchas from the south end of Sierra de Pámaranes to the coast, a moderate day's ride, he found a congregation of these Indians, under the name of *Pintos* (spotted), under the control of an Indian called Marcos, an "*indio de razon*," or converted Indian.<sup>66</sup>

Returning to Cabeza at the village of the white Indians in the vicinity of the present settlement called Bravo, let the thread of the route be taken up.

Cabeza says: "Here we began to see mountains, and it seemed that they came in succession from towards the Sea of the North; and so from the account the Indians of this place gave us, we believed that they were fifteen leagues from the sea. From here we started off with these Indians towards these mountains we have mentioned, and they took us by where there were some kinsmen of theirs. \* \* \* And when we had arrived those who went with us sacked the others. As they know the custom, before we arrived, they concealed some things; and after they had received us with much feasting and joy, they brought out the things they had concealed, to present them to us, and they were beads and red ocher and some small bags of silver." \* \* \* "And desiring to leave the next day, all the people wanted to take us to other friends of theirs who were at the point of the mountains, and said that there were many houses and people there, and that they would give us many things; but on account of its being out of our way we would not go to them, and we went along the plain near the mountains which we believed to be not far from the coast."<sup>67</sup>

In his *Historia*, Vol. III, p. 605, Oviedo, speaking from the joint letter, says: "Near there were the mountains, and it seemed to be a *cordillera* of them crossing the country directly towards the north; and from there they took these Christians forward five leagues more, to a river which was at the foot of the point where the said mountain began. And that night they sent down towards the sea to call

<sup>65</sup> Prieto: *Historia*, etc., p. 175.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 152.

<sup>67</sup> *Naufragios*, Cap. XXVIII.

people, and the following day many men and women came to see those Christians and their miracles, and to bring them things they gave them."

From the San Juan River over to the San Lorenzo at the foot of the Pamoranes mountain is about five leagues, and the Indian settlement at the southeast end of the mountain was down the San Lorenzo and toward the sea.

After much parley, the Indians insisting that the route the Spaniards were about to take was without people or subsistence, Cabeza says:

"They entreated us to remain there that day, and we did so. Then they sent two men to look for people along the road by which we desired to go; and the next day we left, taking with us many of them, and the women went, loaded with water, and so great was our authority among them that no one dared to drink without our permission.

Two leagues from there we met the men who had gone to hunt the people, and they said they had found none, of which the Indians seemed sorry, and again importuned us to go by the mountain. We declined to do so, and seeing our determination, though with much sorrow, they took leave of us and returned down the river to their houses, and we went on up the river. In a little while we met two women loaded, and on seeing us they halted and unloaded themselves, and brought us some of what they were carrying, which was flour of maize; and they told us that further forward on that river we should find houses and plenty of prickly pears and of that flour. So we took leave of them, because they were going to the others we had left.

We went on till sunset, and arrived at a village of about twenty houses, where they received us crying and with great sorrow, because they already knew that wherever we went everybody was sacked and robbed by those accompanying us. When they saw us alone they lost their fear and gave us prickly pears and nothing else. We remained there that night."<sup>68</sup>

Here the formation of the country is calculated to impress wrongly anyone going the route pursued by Cabeza. The San Juan river, where he first met those whiter Indians, flows to the northeast towards the Rio Grande, and going across the *Llano de Flores* it ap-

<sup>68</sup> Naufragios, Cap. XXVIII.



pears as if the stream on the west of Pamoranés mountain also flows in that direction; but it flows southward and empties into the Rio Conchas, near the southern end of the mountain. This little river is called San Lorenzo, and is the one where Cabeza remained over a day. Taking the plain from there to where he struck the Conchas and then went up it, he speaks of it being down the river to the houses from where the Indians turned back that day. But he says: "We went along the plain near the mountains," and it was very natural for him to think, when he struck the Conchas and found he was going up stream, that it was the same river; and practical experience has taught this lesson to more than one American in modern times. Indeed, it required two examinations to give the writer a satisfactory idea of the directions in which the two streams flow, it being clearly presented by a view of the junction near Mendez, formerly la Laja.

Now we have Cabeza and his comrades on the Rio Conchas, above the mouth of San Lorenzo, and, for convenience of description, a reference stake will be set here, say at Nogales, and marked G, to identify the point to which the route is deemed to have been shown with sufficient certainty to exclude the necessity of examining any other back of it to Mal-Hado.

Now how does Cabeza's statement of the route from where he found the Indians whiter than any he had seen before, to the place of twenty houses, correspond with the facts on the ground here from Bravo to Nogales? Let the latter be the position from which to take the view. Looking to the northeast, the southern end of Sierra de Pamoranés is seen, standing within fifteen leagues of the gulf coast. On the hither side of the point of the mountain, one sees the San Lorenzo and Conchas coming together and flowing easterly, on the south of the mountain, to the Laguna Madre. On it was the village of *Borrados* or *Blancos* under the "*indio de razon*," Captain Marcos, when Escandon examined this section in 1750, and around the mountain there were settlements of these Indians. Looking up the San Lorenzo, we see the place where the Spaniards spent a day with these Indians; and turning the eye to the northwest, away across the plain, the San Juan river is seen where Bravo now stands. Between it and the mountain is the plain, or *Llano de Flores*, extending south to the Conchas—the same prairie on which Escandon found the shepherd who guided him to Camargo in 1750. Back of Bravo three days' journey, beyond Peñablanca and Mier, is the Jamaica

crossing of the Rio Grande, a stream as wide as the Guadalquiver at Sevilla; and this crossing surrounded by all the *indicia* to identify it as the place where Cabeza crossed. Will the rules of topography admit of there being another place in the country with so many of the signs of its identity given in the twenty-eighth chapter of Cabeza's relation? If so, it must have been omitted from all the chorographical and geographical works hitherto published.<sup>69</sup>

Here at the stake G on the Conchas ends the first part of this paper, with Sierra de Pamoranes as a noted out call to direct the investigation to the Jamaica crossing as the locative call for the southern end of the single route from St. Joseph's Island through Texas territory.

<sup>69</sup> The map copyrighted by S. Voisin, A. D. 1884, gives a fair representation of this section of Tamaulipas.

## WHAT BECAME OF THE LIVELY?

LESTER G. BUGBEE.

About all that is popularly known of the Lively may be summed up in the following quotation from Yoakum. Referring to the beginning of Austin's colonization of Texas, he says: "Austin's means were limited; but he found a friend in New Orleans, by whose liberality he was greatly aided. Through J. L. Hawkins, the schooner Lively was fitted out with the necessary provisions and implements for a colony, and in November sailed for Matagorda bay with *eighteen* emigrants on board. . . . Austin sought along the coast for the Lively, *but she was never heard of more.*" The errors in this quotation are shown by the Italics. I wish to emphasize the statement, however, that it is far from my intention to find fault with Yoakum and other writers who have followed him for allowing the above inaccuracies to creep into their books. They have recorded the story of the Lively as it was popularly known among most of the old settlers. There is nothing in print, so far as I know, that would have enabled them to correct such errors, and some excuse may be offered for failing to seek documentary evidence which they had no reason to believe was in existence. They should have told us, however, that their information was derived from rumor.

Moses Austin, it will be remembered, obtained permission from the Spanish government of Mexico early in 1821 to settle three hundred families on the Colorado and Brazos rivers, and after his death his son was recognized by the governor of Texas as heir to the grant. In the same year Stephen F. Austin explored the country, selected the lands for his colony, and, in November, 1821, was in New Orleans preparing to lead the first settlers into the new country. As stated in the above extract from Yoakum, Austin was not financially able to carry into execution his cherished plans. He was not long, however, in finding friends who were willing to advance the necessary money, and in November, 1821, he formed a partnership in New Orleans, with Joseph H. Hawkins. It was Austin's plan to enter Texas by way of Red River, Natchitoches, and the San

Antonio Road, collecting his colonists at various points as he proceeded. In the meantime, seed, tools, and other supplies necessary for the settlement were to be sent by sea to the mouth of the Colorado. It was for this purpose that the *Lively*, a small schooner of some thirty tons burden was purchased by the partners in November, 1821; she was loaded with provisions and tools<sup>1</sup>, and, according to the journal of one of the emigrants, Lewis by name, sailed for the Colorado on the twenty-second or twenty-third of the same month.<sup>2</sup>

The little boat carried the following passengers besides the crew: William Little, in charge of the company, the two brothers Lovelace, Holstein and Phelps, nephews of the Lovelaces, Harrison and his servant, Captain Ginnings [perhaps meant for Jennings], Butler, Nelson, James Beard, Beddinger, Wilson, Williams, Mattigan, Thompson, Willis, O'Neal, and two or three more whose names Lewis could not remember. It is interesting to note that several (perhaps six) of these had accompanied Austin on his exploring tour through Texas some months before. The Lovelace brothers, now past middle-age, who had hunted and trapped over a very considerable portion of the southwest and who were known as substantial planters of Louisiana, are said by Lewis to have befriended Moses Austin on his return from his memorable trip to Texas in 1820-1. The acquaintance thus formed, if Lewis' statement is correct, ripened into a business connection by which one or both of the brothers acquired some kind of an interest in the Texas colony. One of them provided Stephen Austin with the greater part of the means for the purchase of the *Lively* and on one or two other occasions furnished him with smaller sums.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Statement presented to — Martin, relative to the settlement of the business between S. F. Austin and the late J. H. Hawkins. Austin Papers, Collection of Hon. Guy M. Bryan, A 30.

<sup>2</sup> Lewis' journal was written some fifty-two years afterwards, and is not reliable except as to events in which he actually participated, and even then must be accepted with caution. It is a very long document, and as it records the minutest details, must have been written from notes made on the spot or soon afterwards. My notes were made from a copy in the Austin Papers, Q 16. (Since the above was written a part of the journal has been printed in the *QUARTERLY* for July, 1899. The remainder is printed in this number).

<sup>3</sup> Statement . . . relative to settlement of the business between S. F. Austin and the late J. H. Hawkins, Austin Papers, Q 16.

G. W. Lovelace, Sicily Island, to S. F. Austin, enclosing account, Dec. 18, 1835, Austin Papers, Q 23.

The voyage was delayed by gales and contrary winds so that it was some four weeks before the little craft entered the mouth of the Brazos. Here the men and tools were landed and the *Lively* proceeded on her course westward. She was expected to put in at the Brazos on her return, and probably did so, but Lewis knew nothing of it.

Let us follow for a moment the fortunes of the men thus left on the beach at the mouth of Brazos. It is barely possible that they believed themselves on the Colorado, where they had agreed to meet Austin,—certainly they were not sure for many weeks that the river was the Brazos. Almost immediately after landing, Little, the Lovelaces, and some others started up the river in a boat to explore the country and, if possible, open communication with the party that had entered Texas by land. They were gone six days and on their return reported no news. About this time or perhaps a little later we know that Austin spent many weary days on the lower Colorado waiting for the *Lively* at the appointed rendezvous and finally went on his way to Bexar and to Mexico fearing that she had been lost.

On the return of the explorers, the entire party moved up the river a few miles where they spent some three weeks in building boats to carry the tools and other supplies left by the *Lively* farther up to some place more suitable for a settlement. Their provisions were soon exhausted and in a short time their only food was the game brought in by the hunters. About the first of February everything was ready and the party embarked their goods on seven boats and laboriously worked their way up the Brazos. They passed some wigwams, but no Indians were seen; finally they landed where the first high land appeared, just below the "falls." A large log house was at once erected and preparations were made to raise a crop of corn. It was not long, however, before Lewis quarreled with the management and finally returned to New Orleans with a party of explorers who chanced to pass that way.

We thus see that, according to Lewis' journal, the emigrants carried to sea by the *Lively* were not lost, and that they spent at least some months of the year 1822 raising a crop on the banks of the Brazos.

In the meantime, Austin was called away to Mexico in the interest of the settlement and his long absence, delayed as he was by revolution after revolution, served to greatly increase the discon-

tent which drought and poor crops had aroused among the settlers. A great many of those who entered Texas in 1822, unwitting heralds of Anglo-Saxon empire, returned to the United States in the fall and winter, broken in spirit and fortune. We learn from the statement made by Austin in his settlement with the heirs of Hawkins, which I have already referred to, that the men of Little's party were among those who grew discouraged and that all returned to the United States except two or three.

The cargo of the Lively, or at least some part of it, finally reached San Antonio and was turned over to Brown Austin and Littleberry Hawkins, relatives of the partners.<sup>4</sup> In one of Stephen Austin's letters to his brother as to the disposition of the cargo, we catch an interesting glimpse of the inside workings of the Mexican administration in Texas. He instructs his brother to sell all the articles for cash or mules except the trunks; these are to be kept safe until he returns, for they contain "some things" for the governor and his lady.<sup>5</sup> This hint is further supplemented by a letter from J. H. Hawkins to Austin:—"Having touched the chord which *charms*, pray how were you last reed by those whose friendship we most need? Did the little presents to our friends meet the welcome hoped for? Did they please? Do they begin to believe we are something more than mere swinish multitude? Did the fair ones grow more fair and the kind ones more kind? These are small affairs abstractly, but mingled with others they become affairs of State. Do not suffer yourself to be supplanted in the esteem of those who Govern by lawful rule or those who govern by the magic wand which Dame nature has bestowed upon the weaker yet most lovely of her works."<sup>6</sup> Just what these "little presents" for the governor and his lady were we have no means of knowing, but it is not at all improbable that important results grew out of this method of lubricating the governmental machinery. These trunks possibly held in their small interior the good genii, which, when released

<sup>4</sup> Stephen F. Austin, City of Mexico, to Brown Austin, Bexar, Jan. 1, 1823, Austin Papers, B 6; it is quite possible that the cargo here referred to was that brought by the Lively on her second trip, when she was lost.

<sup>5</sup> Stephen F. Austin, Saltillo, to Brown Austin, Bexar, May 10, 1823; Austin Papers, B 5.

<sup>6</sup> Joseph H. Hawkins, New Orleans, to S. F. Austin, Feb. 6, 1822, Austin Papers, A 30. The date of this letter makes it probable that the "little presents" were sent on the Lively's first trip.

under favorable circumstances, were to spread their fostering arms from the San Antonio to the Sabine.

After landing her passengers and supplies at the mouth of the Brazos, Lewis tells us that the *Lively* sailed away to the west; he believed the captain was anxious to reach some Mexican port and secure a return cargo. It is more probable, however, that the schooner went on in search of the Colorado,—such at any rate is the statement made by H. Elliot, who was on the lower Colorado in the spring of 1822.<sup>7</sup> Indeed, there is little doubt that the *Lively* succeeded in finding the Colorado, and later reported to the party on the Brazos; for Edward Lovelace wrote to Austin on June 26, 1822, from the camp on the Brazos, that a vessel could not approach the mouth of the Colorado nearer than five or six miles.<sup>8</sup> It is not assuming too much, perhaps, to say that Lovelace must have received this information from the schooner on its return voyage. It is certain that the vessel returned safe to New Orleans some time prior to June, 1822; she reported as to the Colorado that “the safe and Capacious Harbour perfectly Land Locked within two Miles of the Mouth of the River more than Compensates for the shoal water at its Mouth where lighters must be used.”<sup>9</sup> It thus becomes evident that the *Lively* did reach the Colorado after having deposited her cargo and passengers at the mouth of the Brazos; unless, indeed, her captain when he made his report was still laboring under the mistake that the Brazos was the Colorado.

The fact that the *Lively* failed to meet Austin at the appointed place was sufficient foundation for the rumor that the vessel had been lost, and the inconvenience to which some of the settlers were subjected by the want of the implements and seed that had been shipped on board the schooner no doubt served to emphasize her loss and give greater currency to the report. The rumors as to the fate of the passengers were various; it seems that most of the old settlers believed all were lost when the vessel went down; but at least one account has been preserved which says that some were drowned in the breakers or were starved to death by the Indians

<sup>7</sup> H. Elliott to Austin, Bexar, March 25, 1822, Austin Papers, E 29.

<sup>8</sup> Edward Lovelace, Brazos, to S. F. Austin, June 26, 1822, Austin Papers, Q 93.

<sup>9</sup> John Sibley, Natchitoches, to Brown Austin, June 6, 1822, referring to a letter from J. H. Hawkins, Austin Papers.

while others were guided to the Colorado by a party of Carancahuas.<sup>10</sup>

The reports which thus became current were never corrected, probably because the party brought by the *Lively* never had communication to any extent with other settlers, and disappeared during the summer and fall of 1822 almost as completely as if they had been swallowed up by the sea. Some of them did indeed return to Texas at a later date, but the story of the shipwreck and of the loss of the *Lively's* passengers had then gained too wide-spread acceptance to admit of general correction. No doubt the immediate neighbors of Phelps and of others who returned to Texas knew the true version of the story, but it came too late to arouse sufficient interest to carry it to other settlements. It was in this way, I have no doubt, that the rumor became accepted as true and finally found its way into our first-published histories.

When Lewis reached New Orleans, after his adventures in Texas, he was told by "my sailor McDonald" that the schooner had returned, had again been loaded, and "that one of the Messrs. Hawkins had started back with her and foundered on the coast in a storm and all was lost;" such was probably the report among the sailors of New Orleans. Lewis, however, seems inclined to attach little weight to "my sailor McDonald's" opinion, for the *Journal* proceeds with the following obscure sentence: "I think from what I gleaned from him, had gone to Matamoras and sold her and the freight; Captain Butler quit her there." I quote the exact words as they are found in Col. Bryan's copy of the journal of Lewis, because this unsatisfactory passage has afforded some ground for the belief that the *Lively* turned pirate. It should be kept in mind, however, that Lewis' journal is full of all manner of errors when he attempts to record events that did not come under his immediate observation; for this reason little credit is to be given his unsupported statement.

There is no doubt, however, that the vessel made the trip referred to by McDonald. Thomas M. Duke, who afterwards became the first constitutional alcalde of Austin's colony and who was prominent for many years in various capacities, both civil and military,

<sup>10</sup> Recollections of Mrs. ———. who was among the first immigrants to come to Texas by sea. (Austin Papers, S 37.) This rumor may possibly refer to the wreck of the *Lively* on her second voyage.



was one of the passengers of the *Lively* on this second trip. He tells us that the vessel, loaded with supplies and immigrants, sailed from New Orleans for the Texas coast in May or June, 1822, and that she was wrecked on the western end of Galveston Island. Her passengers were taken on board the schooner *John Motley* and put ashore at the usual landing place near the mouth of the Colorado. No mention is made by him of any loss of life.<sup>11</sup> This was probably the end of the schooner; we hear nothing more of her, and it is known that Austin believed that she was lost on Galveston Island.

One of the most interesting features of Lewis' journal is the glimpse it affords us of active exploration along the coast of Texas during the year 1822. The *Lively's* passengers came in contact with no less than six parties that had sailed, for one purpose or another, to the west of the Sabine. On the outward voyage they had been compelled to put into Galveston Bay, and in the darkness they were able to discern the outlines of another vessel in the same shelter. For some reason they became suspicious of the character of the stranger and the next morning, when they found themselves alone in the bay, suspicion became conviction that the strange vessel was a pirate. On another occasion, while the party was engaged in building boats some miles from the mouth of the Brazos, they were astonished at the approach of a small boat from the direction of the sea. The occupant, Fitzgerald by name, who had made the voyage from Calcasieu in a forty-foot boat, asked and received permission to join the party. After the landing was made at the "falls" and the log house erected, two of the boats returned to the mouth of the river to await the *Lively* and to bring up the remaining stores. While there they were joined by a stranger whose name was Morton, who told them that he had sailed from Mobile in his own schooner with his wife and five children, that the vessel had gone ashore on the west end of Galveston Island, that his family and sailors had all escaped ashore where his family still remained, the sailors having gone westward for help. The entire party volunteered to go to the aid of the distressed family. Though two of the rescuers were drowned by the capsizing of a boat the Mortons were brought to camp and finally established themselves near the settlement at the "falls." The name of William Morton appears among Austin's original three hundred settlers, and is possibly the Morton

<sup>11</sup> Recollections of Thomas M. Duke. Austin Papers, Q 2.

here referred to. Later on, a party of four men attached themselves to the settlement; and still later a boat containing several prospectors came up the river, and Lewis, discouraged and at loggerheads with the rest of the party, joyfully recognized some old acquaintances among them. He returned to the United States with these friends. On their return voyage they put in at Galveston bay and remained for a time near the "Sander Sento," where they found a camp of immigrants who had just landed with the intention of making Texas their home.

In conclusion, the story of the *Lively*, it seems, should be corrected to read somewhat as follows: Late in the year 1821 Austin and Hawkins sent out this little vessel loaded with supplies and a number of immigrants (more than eighteen); the destination was the mouth of the Colorado, where Austin was expected to meet the vessel, but for some unknown reason the party and the supplies were landed at the mouth of the Brazos. The immigrants constructed boats and moved up to the "falls," where they raised a crop; nearly all became discouraged and returned to the United States during the year 1822. In the meantime the *Lively* probably sailed on to the Colorado and then returned to New Orleans, where she again received a cargo of supplies and passengers. While passing Galveston Island, the unfortunate vessel was wrecked and probably went to pieces, though her passengers were taken off by the schooner *John Motley* and were landed at the usual place near the Colorado. If one cares to indulge in speculation, it needs little effort to picture the *Lively* bearing to Texas the golden keys that were to admit Austin's settlers to the favors and good-will of the Mexican government, and this is perhaps the most important fact in the history of the little schooner.

## BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

*The Laws of Texas.* Compiled and arranged by H. P. N. Gammel, of Austin. With an Introduction by C. W. Raines. Austin: The Gammel Book Company. 1898. Vol. V, pp. xii + 1686; Vol. VI, pp. 1703.

Since the publication of the last number of *THE QUARTERLY*, volumes V, and VI of Gammel's Reprint of the Laws of Texas have come from the press. That these volumes are to be invaluable to the lawyer, valuable to the student of history, and intensely interesting to the merely curious, has been emphasized. The years of legislation covered by them are from 1853 to 1871. Three distinct and important periods in the history of a State great in material but unappreciated wealth and in the elements to be developed into an ideal commonwealth, were covered by the legislation here published; the first period, from 1853, when Texas had become released from the embarrassment of onerous debts to the beginning of the war; the second, the period of that enormous conflict; and third, that darkest period in the history of Texas and the South, when it was demonstrated that written constitutions are inefficient against the dark passions of men, and when the atrocities of crimes against individuals were rendered insignificant by the political crimes against all the people and posterity.

Volume V begins with an address to the people of Texas from a committee of the Secession Convention, setting forth the political views of a majority of the people of the State. This is followed by the Constitution of 1861 and the provisional Confederate Constitution.

Five hundred pages of the volume are devoted to the war legislation. While the ordinary affairs of government were not ignored, almost every act had upon it the signs of the great conflict, while the very type used in printing the laws indicated the necessity for extreme economy in the conduct of the civil affairs of the government. Stay and appraisal laws were passed; limitation laws suspended. Very much of the legislation had direct reference to the military operations of the State, and to meeting the condi-

tions resulting from the appropriation of most of the resources in men and material wealth to the success of the war. The special legislation of the period indicated the inception of a great number of manufacturing enterprises, encouraged by a "Chinese wall" more effective than the protective tariff. The last legislation of this period is dated November 15, 1864; on the 12th of that month most scathing resolutions denunciatory of the North were passed.

In the legislative history of the State there is a gap between November 15, 1864, and March, 1866. In the interval was Appamattox, and afterwards the last victory of a cause whose very triumphs led to ultimate defeat. In the interval was a time entirely without government, a military government, and an effort to return to civil government.

The convention which met in 1866 had not lost all of the spirit of defiance which had characterized the South during the war. The Constitution declares slavery terminated "by force of arms," gives the negro a limited right to testify, but excludes him from the ballot. One ordinance of the Convention was "to provide for a division of the State of Texas."

The most notable general legislation of the legislature following the adoption of the Constitution of 1866 was the acts undertaking to deal with the freedmen. That confidence was restored is indicated by the very large number of acts of incorporation. Among the charters were several for the development of petroleum wells. The Austin dam enterprise was anticipated by a charter to the "Austin City Water Works."

Volume VI begins with the "reconstruction acts." This is followed by the ordinances of the Convention, which met June 1, 1868, to form a constitution for submission to Congress.

The remainder of Volume VI is taken up with doings of the legislative body which has passed into history as the "Notorious Twelfth." These fifteen hundred pages cover its labors at two sessions only—the called session of 1870 and the regular session of 1871. A review of the work of these sessions is not practicable. It is enough to say that they contributed their share to making the reconstruction period the darkest in the history of the State.

R. L. BATTS.

## NOTES AND FRAGMENTS.

The attention of the members is again called to the circular which has been sent asking permission to draw on them at a stated time each year for their annual dues. The response to this circular has been of a most gratifying sort. A large number have given the desired permission. Every one that does so adds just so much to the assurance of permanent success for the Association. If you have not already done so, please send in the coupon properly signed at once.

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Professor J. Franklin Jameson kindly informs the editor that the wife of Professor Hermann Grimm, of Berlin, is a daughter of Bettina v. Arnim, for whom the communistic colony of Bettina was named.

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THE PRISON JOURNAL OF STEPHEN F. AUSTIN.—The original journal has been found among the Austin papers. It is written in Spanish, and what was published in the January QUARTERLY under the title of this note now appears to be a translation by Moses Austin Bryan.

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[The following details relative to the killing of Mr. Bell, Captain Coleman, and the little boy, by the Indians near Austin in 1843, are given by Mrs. Sinks in addition to the account contained in Willbarger's *Indian Depredations in Texas*, pp. 142-44.]

THE INDIAN RAID NEAR AUSTIN IN 1843.—Messrs. Hornsby and Edmonson, who lived in Hornsby's Bend, had started on their way home; but instead of following the old Montopolis road, they went up the hill now known as Robertson Hill to a point where, until a few years since, there stood an old oak tree. Looking out over the

fields below them, they saw the Indians pursuing Bell and Coleman.

Some of those who were present where the little boy who had been shot by the Indians was lying urged Dr. Robertson to extract the arrow while the boy was yet living; but seeing that it was imbedded in or near the spine he sternly refused. After the death of the child it took the strength of a man to draw the arrow out.

The party pursuing the Indians passed between the State cemetery and Watson's Hill, where Tillotson Institute is now located, back of the City Cemetery and the old reservoir, on to what was afterward the old fair ground, overtaking them just where the grand stand subsequently stood.

The spot where the little boy was killed was marked for many years by two small leaning trees.

JULIA LEE SINKS.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

Can any one give me information as to the existence or the whereabouts of unpublished or of newspaper materials relative to the Convention of 1833?

GEORGE P. GARRISON.

## AFFAIRS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

The Association has been invited to hold a midwinter meeting this year at Huntsville. That town is of great historic interest in itself, as the home of Sam Houston and the place where he lies buried. There are many members in easy reach of it; and no good reason appears why a large and enthusiastic meeting should not be held there. The council has not yet acted finally on the matter, but if it can see its way to accept the invitation, the program for the meeting will be sent to the members in due time.

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The fireproof vault for the University is under contract, and those having valuable papers or relics which they may be disposed to give the Association can now be assured of a safe depository.

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Mrs. Sarah Garrison of Jacksonville, Tex., has given the Association a mutilated copy of the La Grange Intelligencer for July 4, 1844, containing an extract from a letter of Senator Geo. M. Bibb, of Kentucky, in favor of annexation.

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Mr. John S. Keaghey, county attorney of Jasper, sends a pass dated Sept. 23, 1836, given to Alexander Allbright by order of Thos. J. Rusk, Brigadier General Commanding, and countersigned by Lysander Wells, aid-de-camp and lieutenant-colonel of cavalry.

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Mr. Will. M. Tipton of Santa Fe, N. M., sends an especially interesting and valuable gift. It is the original Order Book of the Santa Fe Expedition. The history of the book and how it came



into the possession of Mr. Tipton are best given in his own words. He writes:

"Last year while investigating, in the interest of the U. S. government, a Mexican land grant in this territory, I came across a book which had been used for the keeping of accounts by General Manuel Armijo, the last Mexican governor of New Mexico.

"At the time of discovering it I was hunting for signatures and specimens of the handwriting of Governor Armijo, and in this book I found both.

"But what was more interesting than the writing of Armijo, was my discovery that the book had been used originally for recording therein the military orders issued by Brig. Gen. H. McLeod, who commanded the Texan Santa Fe Expedition of 1841. These orders are twenty-two in number, covering twenty-eight pages, the most of them bearing the name of Theodore Sevey, Adjt., and a few that of C. J. Burgess, Acting Adjt. The first is dated at Austin, May 24, 1841, and the last at Camp Resolution, Headwaters of Red River, Sept. 11, 1841.

"The book is unquestionably genuine, and can be traced from the gentleman through whom I obtained it, directly to the custody of Armijo, who undoubtedly took it from the captured Texans, and appropriated it to his private use.

"Fearing that it would be destroyed if it remained where it was, and appreciating its value as a relic of the unfortunate expedition of '41, I bought it, and it is now in my possession.

"My object in writing you is to say that if it will be acceptable, I shall take great pleasure in presenting it to the Texas State Historical Association, where I feel that after its wanderings of fifty-eight years it is entitled to a resting place."

## PROGRESS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

**INCREASE IN MEMBERSHIP.**—The rapid increase in membership since the annual meeting in June has been most gratifying. Beside 69 applications for membership to be voted on at the Christmas meeting, the Association now has 710 members, distributed as follows:

Austin . . . . .	132	Laredo . . . . .	12	Waxahachie . . . . .	7
San Antonio . . . . .	63	Brenham . . . . .	10	Tyler . . . . .	6
Houston . . . . .	40	Beaumont . . . . .	8	Cuero . . . . .	5
Dallas . . . . .	33	Corsicana . . . . .	8	Gonzales . . . . .	5
Waco . . . . .	19	College Station. . . . .	7	Huntsville . . . . .	5
Galveston . . . . .	18	El Paso . . . . .	7	Sherman . . . . .	5
Fort Worth . . . . .	17	Nacogdoches . . . . .	7	Victoria . . . . .	5

In each of 157 other town in Texas there are from 1 to 4 members, besides 24 members in sixteen other States.

**PROPOSED IMPROVEMENT IN THE QUARTERLY.**—The large membership of the Association makes possible a great improvement in THE QUARTERLY, which may be expected if the dues are paid as promptly as is hoped. In this case the regular issue can be enlarged to 200 pages per number, and extra numbers can be published as often as material is available and the finances of the Association will permit. Two such extra numbers are now in preparation,—one by Mr. E. C. Barker on *The Battle of San Jacinto*, which will contain, besides Mr. Barker's monograph on the subject, reprints of the official documents and of the most important accounts of the battle; and another by Mr. E. W. Winkler on *The Cherokees*, which will contain a great many hitherto unpublished documents of the highest interest. The growing membership of the Association makes it possible thus to improve our magazine and to issue extra numbers without increasing the annual dues.

**PAYMENT OF DUES.**—In order to make the improvement suggested above, it will be absolutely necessary for members to pay their dues promptly. The Association will be asked at the Christmas meeting to make provision for dropping delinquents from the roll. Attention is again called to the convenience of collecting dues by draft, and members are urged to sign the slips, which have been sent them, authorizing the treasurer to collect in this manner.

**APPLICATIONS FOR MEMBERSHIP.**—The Association is a coöperative organization composed of persons interested in the history of Texas, and one of its objects is to preserve our history and stimulate interest in it by publishing articles and documents of historical value, for distribution among the members. The larger the membership, then, the more work of this character can be done. Every respectable and patriotic citizen of Texas is invited to become a member of the Association and assist in this work, and every member is invited to send to the corresponding secretary the names of persons who are interested in the history of Texas and who would make desirable members of the Association.

MEMBERS ADDED TO THE LIST SINCE JUNE 14.

(Elected at the June meeting.)

This list does not include 69 applications for membership, which will be voted on at the Christmas meeting. Corrections should be sent to the corresponding secretary.

F. E. Allen.....	San Angelo.	Mrs. F. F. Chew.....	Houston.
W. P. Allen.....	Rockdale.	Frank H. Church.....	Oakville.
Herbert D. Ardrey,		Supt. John W. Clark....	Huntsville.
341 Gaston Ave., Dallas.		Phil H. Clements.....	Goldthwaite.
Hon. W. T. Armistead...	Jefferson.	J. C. Cochran.....	Austin.
Wade Atkins.....	Bowie.	John Collier.....	Pilot Point.
Hon. E. A. Atlee.....	Laredo.	Hon. Jasper Collins.....	Carthage.
Miss Lula Bailey.....	Bonham.	W. D. Collins.....	Wellington.
Will S. Bailey.....	Calvert.	W. E. Connor.....	Crowell.
B. M. Baker.....	Canadian.	Mrs. Annie L. Cook....	Harrisburg.
A. J. Ball....	297 Main St., Dallas.	James G. Cook, Jr.....	Burnet.
Robert L. Ball.....	San Antonio.	Miss Sallie B Cooke....	Hempstead.
Will G. Barber.....	San Marcos.	W. H. Cooke.....	Clarendon.
Carlos Bee.....	San Antonio.	Hon. S. B. Cooper.....	Beaumont.
T. J. Belcher.....	Kenedy.	Mrs. Bethel Coopwood....	Laredo.
Mrs. J. M. Bennett....	San Antonio.	G. R. Couch.....	Haskell.
Miles S. Bennet.....	Cuero.	Z. H. Cox.....	Nacogdoches.
J. E. Bomar.....	Fort Worth.	R. C. Crane.....	Abilene.
H. Lee Borden.....	Sharpsburg.	J. C. Crisp.....	Beeville.
Ewing Boyd .....	Cooper.	E. J. Dalrymple.....	Llano.
W. T. Boyd.....	Columbus.	W. L. Davidson.....	Beaumont.
John W. Brady.....	Austin.	J. W. Davis.....	Waco.
Hon. S. H. Brashear....	Houston.	J. M. Dean.....	El Paso.
J. A. Breeding.....	Houston.	Hon. J. B. Dibrell.....	Seguin.
Hon. M. L. Broocks....	Beaumont.	Dr. Alex. Dienst.....	Temple.
Hon. J. N. Browning....	Amarillo.	Thomas W. Dodd.....	Laredo.
J. M. Brownson.....	Victoria.	G. W. Donalson.....	Ladonia.
L. R. Bryan.....	Velasco.	J. R. Dougherty.....	Beeville.
R. D. Bryan.....	Kaufman.	V. F. Dubose.....	Palestine.
A. B. Buetell.....	Galveston.	J. M. Duncan.....	Tyler.
W. W. Burnett.....	Kerrville.	J. A. Eidson.....	Hamilton.
J. W. Butler.....	Clifton.	W. S. Essex.....	Fort Worth.
Judge W. A. Callaway....	Linden.	F. M. Etheridge.....	Dallas.
A. Camp.....	Box 247, Dallas.	Alex Fitzgerald.....	Columbus.
L. W. Campbell.....	Waco.	Hon. Webster Flanagan....	Austin.
Mr. and Mrs. L. A. Carter,		C. L. Ford.....	Henrietta.
St. Louis, Mo.		T. W. Ford.....	Houston.
J. T. Chamberlain....	Nacogdoches.	E. D. Foree.....	Rockwall.
Hon. C. M. Chambers...	Clarksville.	L. N. Frank.....	Stephenville.

- William P. Gaines.....Austin.  
 M. D. Gano.....Dallas.  
 Judge J. M. Goggin....Eagle Pass.  
 L. N. Goldbeck.....Austin.  
 Gideon J. Gooch.....Palestine.  
 S. H. Goodlet.....Brenham.  
 Osce Goodwin.....Waxahachie.  
 T. P. Gore.....Corsicana.  
 George C. Greer.....Beaumont.  
 Mrs. A. R. Gregory,  
     133 Magnolia Ave., San Antonio.  
 Mrs. Fanny Williams Gresham,  
     Le Droit Bldg., Washington, D. C.  
 Hon. Walter Gresham...Galveston.  
 W. L. Grogan.....Sweetwater.  
 Hon. V. W. Grubbs....Greenville.  
 H. E. Haas.....Hondo City.  
 Miss Alice Lee Hägerlund..Sonora.  
 W. W. Hair.....Belton.  
 R. W. Hall.....Vernon.  
 E. P. Hamblen.....Houston.  
 William R. Hamby.....Austin.  
 J. M. Hamilton.....Kerrville.  
 Col. G. W. Hardy.....Corsicana.  
 Rev. A. J. Harris,  
     408 Warren St., San Antonio.  
 Mrs. Dilve Harris.....Eagle Lake.  
 Theodore Harris.....San Antonio.  
 A. S. Hawkins.....Midland.  
 John W. Hefly.....Cameron.  
 Sam R. Henderson.....Bryan.  
 F. W. Hodge, Bureau of  
     Ethnology, Washington, D. C.  
 Yancey Holmes.....Gonzales.  
 Harry Catlett Hord....Sweetwater.  
 Miss Lolabel House.....Waco.  
 F. M. Howard.....Beeville.  
 C. P. Hudson.....Greenville.  
 R. W. Hudson.....Pearsall.  
 S. P. Huff.....Vernon.  
 Gerard Huston.....Paint Rock.  
 A. L. Jackson.....Houston.  
 Albert S. Jackson.....Dallas.  
 B. L. James.....Houston.  
 Rev. John James.....Alvarado.  
 Hon. Joe Lee Jameson.....Austin.  
 Rt. Rev. James S. Johnston,  
     San Antonio.  
 W. A. Johnson.....Miami.  
 Lewis Maury Kemp.....El Paso.  
 Hon. A. B. Kerr.....Flatonia.  
 W. F. Kerr .....Salona.  
 Dr. B. F. Kingsley,  
     108 Elm St., San Antonio.  
 John H. Kirby.....Houston.  
 G. H. Knaggs.....Cotulla.  
 W. D. Laey.....Waco.  
 M. H. Lane.....Laredo.  
 C. K. Lee.....Galveston.  
 A. N. Leitnaker.....Autsin.  
 D. O. Lively.....Ft. Worth.  
 W. G. Love.....Houston.  
 M. F. Lowe.....Pearsall.  
 James D. Luby.....San Diego.  
 B. C. McCaleb.....Claude.  
 John J. McClellan.....Corsicana.  
 Ed. H. McCuistion.....Paris.  
 W. E. McDowell.....Lockhart.  
 A. W. McIver.....Caldwell.  
 John F. McLean.....Galveston.  
 J. H. McLean.....Llano.  
 W. P. McLean.....Fort Worth.  
 W. E. McMahon.....Savoy.  
 Mrs. W. T. Mather.....Austin.  
 T. N. Maurit.....Canado.  
 Hon. Allison Mayfield.....Austin.  
 Paul Meerscheidt.....San Antonio.  
 Hon. L. I. Mercer.....Cumby.  
 Hon. Barry Miller.....Dallas.  
 W. P. Miller.....Lone Grove.  
 O. A. Mills.....Batesville.  
 W. M. Mills.....Nolanville.  
 W. H. Mims.....Laredo.  
 F. D. Minor.....Galveston.  
 J. D. Mitchell.....Victoria.  
 W. W. Moores.....Stephenville.  
 J. L. Mosely.....Bellville.  
 Providence Mounts .....Denton.  
 A. W. Moursund...Fredericksburg.  
 J. F. Mullally.....Laredo.  
 Hon. Pat. Neff.....Waco.  
 Judge H. H. Neill....San Antonio.  
 Mrs. H. H. Neill.....San Antonio.  
 Frank McC. Newton,  
     632 N. Flores St., San Antonio.  
 George W. O'Brien.....Beaumont.

W. M. Odell.....Dallas.	Hon. B. A. Stafford.....Celeste.
Supt. B. C. Odom.....San Angelo.	Hon. John H. Stephens....Vernon.
W. R. Pace.....Laredo.	Jas. Stewart.....Fort Worth.
Judge W. M. Pardue.....Memphis.	Solon Stewart.....San Antonio.
J. W. Parham.....Cumby.	Mrs. Kate R. Stokes.....Lampasas.
M. C. H. Park.....Waco.	Hon. Heber Stone.....Brenham.
A. J. Parker.....Karnes City.	S. P. Strong.....Montague.
J. W. Parker.....Stephenville.	Judge C. A. Sumners.....Cuero.
D. R. Peareson.....Richmond.	Marshall Suratt .....Waco.
Hon. J. M. Pearson.....McKinney.	P. H. Swearingen.....San Antonio.
T. H. C. Peery.....Seymour.	Supt. E. W. Tarrant.....Brenham.
Robert Penniger...Fredericksburg.	John W. Thompson,
Mrs. Kate Phillips.....Tyler.	257 Main Street, Dallas.
C. C. Pierce.....Laredo.	A. S. Thurmond.....Victoria.
John M. Pinckney.....Hempstead.	Judge J. G. Tod.....Houston.
G. S. Plants.....Seymour.	Hon. W. W. Turney.....El Paso.
W. H. Pope.....Beaumont.	Miss Fanny Van Zandt,
A. C. Prendergast.....Waco.	Cor. W. 7th and Penn Sts.,
Hon. R. E. Prince.....Corsicana.	Fort Worth.
R. W. Purdan.....Calvert.	J. H. Walker.....Austin.
C. B. Randell.....Sherman.	Prof. S. V. Wall.....Honey Grove.
Mrs. George B. Ranshaw,	Edgar Watkins.....Houston.
203 Camden St., San Antonio.	G. P. Webb.....Sherman.
T. J. Record.....Paris.	W. E. Weldon.....Ladonia.
J. Bouldin Rector.....Austin.	Hon. T. P. Wells.....Bells.
O. P. Reid.....Laredo.	Robert G. West.....Austin.
H. P. Reynolds.....El Paso.	R. H. Wester.....San Antonio.
Aug. C. Richter.....Laredo.	C. P. White.....Gatesville.
J. B. Ross.....Batesville.	R. C. White.....McKinney.
Mrs. Kate S. Rotan.....Waco.	F. C. Wilbern.....Babyhead.
J. H. Ruby.....Houston.	U. S. Wilkinson.....Floydada.
Mrs. Rosine Ryan.....Houston.	William D. Williams..Fort Worth.
G. M. Scarborough.....Waco.	C. S. Willson.....Cottonwood.
Sam R. Scott.....Waco.	Dr. E. P. Wilmot.....Austin.
Dr. H. A. Shands.....Georgetown.	J. C. Wilson.....Victoria.
Hon. J. S. Sherrill.....Greenville.	Judge W. H. Wilson.....Houston.
Mrs. Emma B. Shindler,	Judge W. D. Wood....San Marcos.
Nacogdoches.	
Hon. H. C. Shropshire,	Total addition ..... 245
Weatherford.	On roll June 14, 1899..... 486
J. G. Smith.....Cotulla.	731
R. Waverly Smith.....Galveston.	Lost by death, removal, and
Tillman Smith.....Fort Worth.	withdrawal ..... 21
W. M. Smith.....Matador.	Total membership, Sept 10,
Wendel Spence.....Dallas.	1899 ..... 710
W. A. Spencer.....Junction.	
Thos. D. Sporer.....Jacksboro.	

## CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.—NAME.—This Society shall be called the Texas State Historical Association.

ART. II.—OBJECTS.—The objects of the Association shall be, in general, the promotion of historical studies; and, in particular, the discovery, collection, preservation, and publication of historical material, especially such as relates to Texas.

ART. III.—MEMBERSHIP.—The Association shall consist of Members, Fellows, Life Members, and Honorary Life Members.

(a) *Members.* Persons recommended by the Executive Council and elected by the Association may become Members.

(b) *Fellows.* Members who show, by published work, special aptitude for historical investigation may become Fellows. Thirteen Fellows shall be elected by the Association when first organized, and the body thus created may thereafter elect additional Fellows on the nomination of the Executive Council. The number of Fellows shall never exceed fifty.

(c) *Life Members.* Such benefactors of the Association as shall pay into its treasury at one time the sum of fifty dollars (\$50), or shall present to the Association an equivalent in books, MSS., or other acceptable matter, shall be classed as Life Members.

(d) *Honorary Life Members.* Persons who rendered eminent service to Texas previous to annexation may become Honorary Life Members upon being recommended by the Executive Council and elected by the Association.

ART. IV.—OFFICERS.—The affairs of the Association shall be administered by a President, four Vice-Presidents, a Recording Secretary and Librarian, a Corresponding Secretary and Treasurer, and an Executive Council.

The President, Vice-Presidents, Recording Secretary and Librarian, and Corresponding Secretary and Treasurer shall be elected annually by the Association from among the Fellows.

The Executive Council, a majority of which shall constitute a quorum, shall consist of the following: The President, four Vice-Presidents, Librarian of the Association, State Librarian, three Fellows, five Members.

The Association, immediately after organizing, shall elect three Fellows to serve on the Executive Council one, two, and three years respectively, the term of each to be decided by lot. Thereafter, one Fellow shall be elected annually by the Association for the term of three years.

The Association, immediately after organizing, shall likewise elect five Members to serve on the Executive Council one, two, three, four, and five years, respectively, the term of each to be decided by lot. Thereafter, one Member shall be elected annually by the Association for the term of five years.

ART. V.—DUES.—Each Member shall pay annually into the treasury of the Association the sum of two dollars.

Each Fellow shall pay annually into the treasury of the Association the sum of five dollars.

Life Members and Honorary Life Members shall be exempt from all dues.

ART. VI.—PUBLICATION COMMITTEE.—A Publication Committee, consisting of five persons, shall have the sole charge of the selection and editing of matter for publication. The President and Librarian of the Association shall be *ex officio* members of this committee; the remaining three members shall be chosen annually by the Fellows from the Executive Council.

ART. VII.—AMENDMENTS.—Amendments to this Constitution shall become operative after being recommended by the Executive Council and approved by two-thirds of the entire membership of the Association, the vote being taken by letter ballot.





# THE QUARTERLY

OF THE

TEXAS STATE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

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JANUARY, 1900.

No. 3.

*The publication committee and the editor disclaim responsibility for views expressed by contributors to the Quarterly.*

## THE SPANISH SOURCE OF THE MEXICAN CONSTITUTION OF 1824.

JAMES Q. DEALEY.

When Mexico so nobly won its independence from Spain, its leading citizens were not practically trained statesmen, but either enthusiastic patriots or selfish adherents to a popular cause. The numerous revolutions that followed the establishment of the republic after the overthrow of Iturbide's short lived empire, were due therefore partly to the ambition of unscrupulous politicians, but mainly to the visionary character of the natural leaders of the people, and to the lack of political experience in the mass of the population.

It is not at all strange that the ardent Mexicans, in the full glow of enthusiastic feeling at having won for themselves a name among the nations of the earth, should have turned toward their northern neighbor for the pattern of the new political institutions about to be formed. No antagonisms had yet arisen between the two peoples; the well known sympathy of the Monroe administration for the Spanish-American Republics had won the warm gratitude of these embryo nations; and the Monroe doctrine of December, 1823, seemed permanently to cement this friendly feeling. Consequently when in 1824 the Mexicans proclaimed in their famous constitution the form of their government to be a Federal republic, the impression

at once prevailed in the United States that they had reproduced the main features of the American system. This opinion may be seen from quotations from several historical writers of that time and the present.

"The Federal Constitution of the Mexican Republic, modeled after the Constitution of the North American Union." Kennedy's Texas, vol. I, p. 306.

"The Mexican federal constitution of 1824 \* \* \* was formed upon that of the United States." Yoakum's Texas, vol. I, p. 230.

"In 1824 the Mexicans \* \* \* adopted a Federal Republican constitution, in palpable imitation of the Constitution of the United States." Bruce's Houston, page 70.

"\* \* \* Constitution of 1824, which in many particulars was a copy of the Constitution of the United States." Bernard Moses' Introduction to the Constitution of the United States of Mexico.

"Several of its articles are transcripts of corresponding clauses in the Constitution of the Northern United States. Here and there appears the old Spanish leaven, particularly in the Fourth Article (sic. should be Third). \* \* \* Comments almost without number were made even in those early days by both Mexicans and foreigners, endeavoring to show that the troubles Mexico soon found herself involved in, were the result of the liberal institutions she had adopted by servilely copying, as the commentators said, her more fortunate neighbor of the North." Bancroft's History of Mexico, vol. V, page 19.

It is the aim of this paper to show, that while the constitution of 1824 was in part formed on the model of that of the United States, much of its form, and practically its entire spirit came from the beloved Spanish Constitution of 1812. This Constitution, overthrown by Ferdinand in 1814, but restored by the army and people in 1820, had secured political liberty and constitutional government for the Spaniards, colonial as well as native, and had granted to the colonies representation in the national cortes. So far were the Mexicans from "servilely copying" the American Constitution, that even those ideas plainly adopted were so altered in spirit and detail that there is clearly implied rather an attempt to adapt them to Spanish institutions than simply to imitate the American constitution. In general it may be said that the Spanish constitution was followed unless the federal republic idea compelled change.

The verbal resemblance of the Mexican and Spanish constitutions may readily be seen in the introductory clauses:

## SPANISH.

"In the name of Almighty God, Father, Son and Holy Ghost, the Author and Supreme Legislator of the Universe."

"The general and extraordinary Cortes of the Spanish nation \* \* \* do decree the following constitution."

"The nation is free and independent, and is not the patrimony of any family or person whatever."

"The Roman Catholic and apostolic religion, the only true one is, and always shall be, that of the Spanish nation; the government protects it by wise and just laws, and prohibits the exercise of any other whatever."

## MEXICAN.

"In the name of God Almighty, Author and Supreme Legislator of Society."

"The general constituent Congress of the Mexican nation \* \* \* do decree the following constitution."

"The nation is forever free and independent of the Spanish government and of every other power."

"The religion of the Mexican nation is and will be perpetually the Roman Catholic apostolic. The nation will protect it by wise and just laws, and prohibits the exercise of any other whatever."

This close parallelism can be traced through clause after clause, showing not merely the adoption of the idea, but even the copying of the very words. This same point may be illustrated by the plan adopted of dividing the various topics; both constitutions use the terms, titles, sections, and articles; these last, furthermore, are numbered consecutively. The order of titles also may be noted. The Spanish constitution has ten, of which the Mexican omits titles 1, 7, 8, and 9 and divides title 3 into two. With these changes the topics and order are practically the same, viz.: territory and religion, form of government and separation of powers, into legislative, executive, and judicial, local government, and lastly the method of amending the constitution.

Without devoting further space to parallelisms of words, attention will now be called to the ideas themselves. Undoubtedly the statement of the fourth clause represents the victory of the Mexican federal party over the Centralists. It reads "The Mexican Nation adopts for its government the republican, representative, popular, federal form." In this we find the high water mark of American influence; a republic, rather than a monarchy; a federation, rather than a centralized government. The important difference between the American and Mexican systems lies in the interpretation of federalism. In our system the national state was created by the local states and, in 1824, the former was still comparatively weak as

against the latter. These by constitution have inherent, not delegated powers, full local control subject to certain constitutional restrictions, and have their integrity and powers fully guaranteed by such provisions as clause 1, section 3, article 4, the last two lines of article 5, and amendments X and XI. In the Mexican system, however, the local states were created by the national state (though in most cases with historic boundaries) which delegated to them their powers of local self-government and restricted them far more closely than in our system. For instance state governors might be impeached, the local states in their constitutions had to guarantee many legal rights (articles 145-156), to separate the governmental powers into the three divisions and keep them separate, and to have but one legislative house; they had to report annually to the national congress their financial and industrial condition, and to submit annually to congress and the executive their constitution and laws (title V). Over these Congress had virtually the veto power, inasmuch as it, and not the supreme court, had the power of deciding the constitutionality of laws.

The adoption of the federal idea necessitated a departure from the unicameral legislature of Spain in the addition of a senate to the representative house. The Mexican senate, as in the United States, comprised two members from each state. These were elected for four years by the state legislatures on the same day (Sept. 1), one-half retiring every two years, but vacancies were filled by the legislatures only. The senate confirmed nominations to positions in the treasury, diplomatic service, and the army and navy, but not other officials. In other respects it was simply one of two legislative houses. Both houses ratified treaties, and both had the power of impeachment. Either house, furthermore, might impeach members of the other house.

In leaving the federal idea with its senate and local and national states we practically leave the contribution of the United States to the Mexican constitution. Of course there are slight resemblances here and there (for instance in the organization of the executive), but these are comparatively unimportant.

Attention will now be directed to the ideas contributed by the Spanish constitution. Both the Spanish and Mexican constitutions devote an article to a statement of national territory and both formally divide the functions of government into the threefold

division. The Spanish document gives in full the method of holding elections, this was not made part of the Mexican constitution, but became a separate law, following the details closely in prescribing the system of substitutes and the meeting of primary assemblies, which elected electors, who again elected other electors, who in their turn chose the provincial or the state deputies to the Congress. Elections in both cases were held on Sunday and religious processions, services, exhortations and *te deums* were prescribed. In Mexico as in Spain in electing deputies substitutes also were chosen, at the ratio of one substitute for every three deputies. In Spain the king, in Mexico the President, opened Congress with a speech, to which in both the presiding officer was to reply "in general terms." In comparing the powers of the two legislatures we note equal emphasis on national higher education, freedom of the press, and individual responsibility of the members of the cabinet to the congress. In general the powers of the Mexican congress may be traced in those of the Spanish cortes and of the king, besides several evidently taken from the United States, and others local in origin. Legislation in Mexico might be initiated by Congress, the President, or by the state legislature, in Spain by the cortes and by the king. In the Mexican as in the Spanish constitution an absolute majority was required to pass bills, which in Mexico might be vetoed as in the American system, the royal veto of course being inappropriate in a Republic. There were in both property qualifications for members of the legislative bodies, but in Mexico this applied only to naturalized foreigners who in Spain were debarred from membership in the Cortes. In both a candidate might stand in the district of his residence as well as that of his birth; the former district must be preferred in case of plural elections. In both practically the same classes of persons were debarred from becoming candidates.

During the recesses of the legislative bodies permanent committees, elected from the membership of the Cortes and of the Congress, sat with delegated powers to watch over the observance of the constitution and the laws (and incidentally to watch the executive). This important body of course is lacking from the American system, though a similar body had existed under the Articles of Confederation.

In vesting the executive powers in a President rather than in a monarch a mingling of American and Spanish ideas may be expected.

From the United States *e. g.* came the title, the qualifications, and the four year term. The President and the Vice-President, however, were elected by the state legislature, not by electors. An absolute majority of votes elected, ties being settled in the House by methods fully covering all possible cases. If the House failed to elect by the day set for the inauguration, or if there happened to be an unexpected vacancy, a President *pro tem.* was elected or, in certain possibilities, the Chief Justice of the supreme court might assume the office. The President, following the Spanish deputy method, could not accept a second term till after an interval of four years. So far, the resemblance in form to the provisions of the American constitution is marked. The important departure from this model comes in the enumeration of executive powers. The powers of the American executive are vague and ill-defined, purposely so, presumably; the powers of the Mexican executive, however, like those of the Spanish king, were carefully defined and specifically restricted, though in the aggregate they were very large. Among imitations of Spanish clauses may be mentioned, the power to appoint and remove the secretaries of the Department, to dispose of the national forces on land and sea, to declare war, to regulate the relations of the nation with the Papal See, and the power to initiate bills. In addition may be mentioned the prohibition placed on his departure from the national territory or to infringe on property rights, or to interfere with the national elections. The Vice-President, who also was forbidden to leave the country, presided over, not the senate, but the Council of Government already mentioned. This important body, besides acting as a substitute for Congress during recess, also acted as a council of state, to advise the executive and to recommend legislation. It thus combined the functions of the "Permanent Committee of the Cortes" and of the "Council of State," as defined in the Spanish constitution. The Mexican constitution devoted six articles, the Spanish nine, to the secretaries of state. The main difference is that the latter constitution gave the names of the departments and the number of secretaries. Both constitutions required the same qualifications for holding office, annual reports, countersignatures to the laws affecting the respective departments, and responsibility to the legislative body.

In the organization of the Mexican judicial system, as outlined in the constitution, a resemblance to that of the United States is easily

noted, but the spirit except where the federal idea compelled change, is distinctly that found in the constitution of 1812. The system required an Attorney-General, a Supreme Court, and Circuit and District Courts. Judges of the Supreme Court held during good behavior, but were elected by the state legislature by an absolute majority of votes. The House, as in the case of the President, was to elect from the candidates named as many as failed to receive the required majority. Inferior judges were named by the Supreme Court and appointed by the President. The chief powers of the Supreme Court were, to settle interstate disputes, to act as an administrative court, as a court of last resort, as a court to try impeachments, and as an advisory body in matters appertaining to the Papal See. It decided admiralty cases, cases in which diplomatic agents were concerned, and cases involving the national laws. All of these powers, however, might be regulated by Congress.

The Spanish system also had three classes of courts. The judges were named by the council of state and appointed by the king under life or fixed term tenures. The powers of the Spanish "supreme tribunal of justice" were with slight alterations the same as those enumerated in the Mexican constitution, save that it had of course no interstate jurisdiction. This close resemblance in judicial matters might be still further traced; the legal rights of citizens specified in both are close parallels, both in words and in thought. As illustrations might be noticed the principles of arbitration and conciliation, guarantees of speedy trial without torture or forced confessions, the privilege of bail, and the prohibitions of search without warrant and of the confiscation of the property of criminals. In both constitutions also the army and the church remained under their own jurisdictions, not under the ordinary laws.

Finally the Mexican method of amending the constitution was in direct imitation of the Spanish method, with of course slight changes of detail. There was to be a long period (Mexico six years, Spain eight years) during which no amendments could be offered at all. The Congress at the end of that period might suggest amendments to the following Congress; this in turn might consider and recommend by a two-thirds vote to the following Congress, which in its turn might pass them as ordinary laws. The Mexican constitution, unlike either the Spanish or the American, forbade the amending of the fundamental ideas of the constitution.

Enough has now, perhaps, been given to show that the real basis of the Mexican constitution of 1824 was the Spanish constitution of 1812, and that the departures from the latter were due largely to the adoption of the form of a federal republic, which compelled, to some extent, the imitation of the American model. But, even in so imitating, the framers of the Mexican constitution endeavored to mould the unfamiliar institutions of the North to the more familiar institutions of Spain.

This inquiry into the origin of the Mexican constitution is not merely an historical one, but has also a present interest: for the constitution of 1824 forms the basis of the present Mexican constitution, and the two constitutions, that of Spain in 1812 and that of Mexico in 1824 can be shown to be the patterns after which the numerous constitutions of South and Central America have largely been modeled. As might also be expected these same two constitutions powerfully influenced the ideas of the local constitutions of the Mexican states. To illustrate this statement attention might briefly be called to that one that has a special interest for the United States, the first constitution of Coahuila and Texas, adopted 1827. The basis of this is the Spanish constitution, with such changes as were necessitated by the requirements of the federal constitution and by local circumstances. For instance the Spanish titles 7, 8, 9, omitted from the Mexican constitution, reappear in the Coahuilan-Texan constitution as titles 4, 5, 6. Whole clauses are transferred word for word, and one might almost say that this local constitution more closely resembled the Spanish than did the Mexican constitution.

In this earliest of Texan constitutions many have referred to the generous provisions with regard to education, and to the clause that permitted a trial of the English jury system. Both of these liberal provisions were almost verbally reproduced from the Spanish constitution. The state election law also (dated July, 1826), like that of Mexico proper, was taken almost bodily from the same source.

In view of the foregoing it would be natural to inquire into the origin of these liberal ideas contained in the Spanish constitution. Part, no doubt, can readily be traced to institutions at that time existing in Spain. Again the Spanish, during the formation of the constitution, were in close alliance with England; and, in conjunction with Wellington, were patriotically resisting the usurpations of Napoleon. This alliance would tend to call the current English con-



stitutional principles to the attention of the framers of the Spanish constitution. But there is still a third source to which reference must be made. The greatest political influence of that generation had come from the French revolution, in which the French at first, as the Spaniards were then trying to do, had overthrown despotism and had established a constitutional monarchy on the basis of the sovereignty of the people. One need simply quote the third article of the Spanish Constitution to show this French influence. "Sovereignty resides essentially in the nation; in consequence whereof it alone possesses the right of making its fundamental laws." In the French constitution of 1791 and 1795 (not the radical constitution of 1793) we can find the general order of titles in the Spanish constitution, the plan of numbering clauses, the method of amending, and such ideas as the threefold division of powers, a unicameral legislature, indirect elections, the system of substitutes, the prohibition of continuous terms of office, the method of veto, the individual responsibility of each member of the cabinet to the legislative body, freedom of the press, free public and liberal education, and equality in civil and political rights. These ideas, to be sure, are in part of English origin; but the student of modern political institutions will recognize two important sources of political theory, the one arising from the English constitution and finding its best exponent perhaps in American institutions; the other springing from the French revolution, recasting old institutions, formulating new theories, and sending forth broad lines of influence throughout all the Romance nations and their colonies.

## ANOTHER TEXAS FLAG.

GEORGE P. GARRISON.

In the plate accompanying the article by Mrs. Looscan in the Comprehensive History of Texas on *The History and Evolution of the Texas Flag* she presents eleven different banners that were the products of the Texas Revolution. Some of them are reproduced from actually existing specimens, but most are simply restorations made from printed descriptions.<sup>1</sup> In the text of the article others still are mentioned. It may be an ungrateful task to add to this rather heterogeneous collection of symbolized outbursts of revolutionary feeling another, or, to speak more strictly, another pair; but I trust the addition will not be wholly unprofitable.

As Mrs. Looscan indicates, the principal variations in the flags made in Texas were due to varying degrees of radicalism on the part of the revolutionary Anglo-Americans. The conservative element, which controlled the Consultation of 1835, opposed severance from Mexico for the time, and favored coöperation with the Mexican liberals in seeking to restore the constitution of 1824, which Santa Anna had overthrown. The same element controlled the council of the provisional government. Gov. Henry Smith, on the other hand, belonged to the party of radical revolutionists; and the essential issue of the unfortunate quarrel between the governor and council which divided the energies and paralyzed the action of the government in the winter of 1835-6 was whether or not the Texans should coöperate with the Mexican liberals. The result of the

It is interesting to note that eight bear the lone star, one of which was brought from Georgia, and another from Ohio. One of the eleven was brought from Kentucky, and eight were made in Texas. Three of this number had stripes in imitation of the United States flag, and three bars of different colors varying in their arrangement. The only difference between Mrs. Looscan's restoration of the Dodson flag, which was made at Harrisburg in September, 1835, and the flag of the Republic adopted in January, 1839, is that the red and white bars of the former are vertical, while those of the latter are horizontal.

quarrel was that there was no consistent policy. The radical revolutionists succeeded in breaking up the Matamoros expedition and spoiling the effort to carry the war into Mexico; but the conservatives, on the other hand, were able to prevent the abandonment of the outposts at Goliad and Bexar. This will serve to explain the meaning of the flag used at the Alamo. It represented the policy of the conservatives in being identical with the Mexican national flag, except that the figures 1824 took the place of the eagle.

During the earlier stages of the revolution, Stephen F. Austin was of the conservative party. He was, in fact, the most prominent and generally trusted man belonging to it; and, after the Texans had actually risen, it was doubtless only the weight of his influence that restrained their hot impulses and turned the scale in its favor. But the progress of events toward the end of the year 1835 made it more and more evident that there could be no resuscitation for "the republican principles," as the declaration of November 7th expressed it, of the constitution of 1824, and that the only hope for Texas was absolute separation from Mexico. Austin held out against this policy until he left Texas near the end of December, 1835, in order to begin his work as a member of the commission to the United States.<sup>2</sup> But in two letters, one to Royall and S. R. Fisher and the other to Gen. Sam Houston, both written from New Orleans and dated January 7, 1836,<sup>3</sup> he declared himself in favor of an unequivocal declaration of independence. His change of attitude removed the most serious obstacle to such a declaration, and it was thenceforth practically certain that the convention which had been called to meet on March first would make that declaration.

Now it became necessary to devise a flag for the new republic which the convention was expected to bring to birth. Just how the matter was approached is not made clear by the materials I have been able to discover; but the evidence indicates that Austin himself prepared a design, which was modified by the commission and, thus changed, was recommended for adoption.

On the eighteenth of January, 1836, Austin wrote a letter from

<sup>2</sup>Austin to Royall, Dec. 25, 1835, printed in Brown's History of Texas, I 466-8.

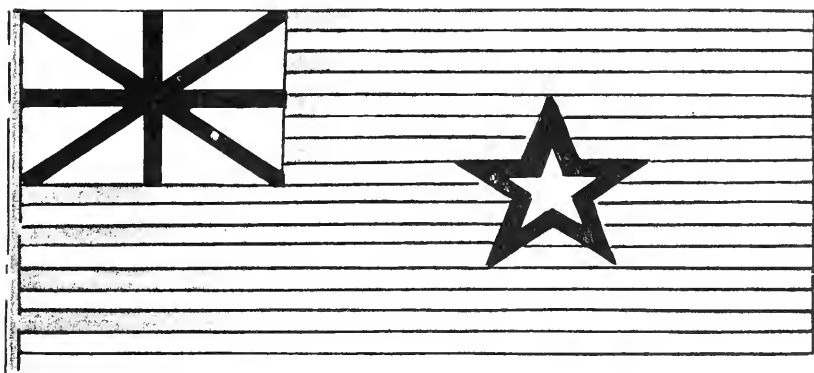
<sup>3</sup>Brown's History of Texas, I 469-72.

New Orleans to Gail Borden, Jr., at San Felipe, favoring the declaration of independence. A copy in Austin's own handwriting is among his papers in the possession of Col. Guy M. Bryan, and one of the paragraphs reads as follows: "I shall preach independence all over the U. S. wherever I go. What do you think of the enclosed idea for a flag?" No design accompanies the copy from which I quote; but there is a draft of a flag in the State library at Austin which appears to be the one referred to, although there is no means of showing the connection in time and place. This draft was discovered by Judge Raines, the present librarian, among the Nacogdoches archives, which were turned over to the Secretary of State pursuant to an order of the legislature made in 1850, and transferred to the State library in 1877. In the engraving which accompanies this paper, it is given as No. 1. Judge Raines can recall no accompanying paper that might serve to explain how the design happened to be sent to Nacogdoches. It may not, in fact, have belonged originally among those archives, and may have been placed among them by some negligence while they were in the vaults of the State Department. The best evidence that it is the "idea" referred to in Austin's letter to Borden is the description on the margin and on the back of the sheet containing it. Above the drawing is written, "Idea for an independent flag;" while below are the words: "The shape of the English jack indicates the origin of the North American people. The stripes indicate the immediate descent of the most of the Texans. The star is Texas. The tricolour is Mexican." On the back of the sheet is the endorsement, written in a different hand, "Stephen F. Austin's design of Flag."

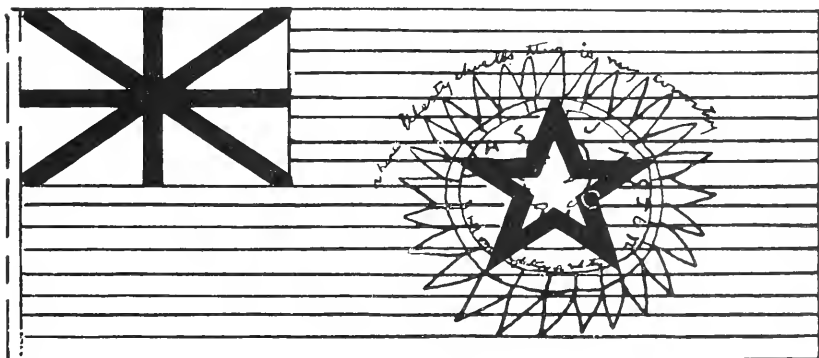
By some accident the paper has had a hole burned in it, but fortunately in such a place as not to destroy any part of the description.

It must, I think, have been a flag made after this design that was presented to Mosely Baker's company at San Felipe in February, 1836. Mrs. Looscan makes up this flag from the description given in the *Telegraph and Register* of Saturday, March 5, 1836, and inserts it as No. 4 in the plate accompanying her article already mentioned. The description is as follows: "The flag presented to the San Felipe company was made according to the pattern proposed for the flag of Texas and of independence. The following is the device: The English Jack, showing the origin of the Anglo-Americans; thirteen stripes, representing that most of the colonists in

1.



2.



ANOTHER TEXAS FLAG.

1. AUSTIN'S DESIGN.
2. THE COMMISSION'S DESIGN.



Texas are from the United States; the star is Texas, the only State in Mexico retaining the least spark of the light of liberty; tricolor is Mexican, showing that we once belonged to that confederacy; the whole flag is historic.”<sup>4</sup> It will be noted that these are nearly the same as the words used to explain the Austin design. Add to this the likelihood of this design’s being adopted at Austin’s home, the fact that Gail Borden, Jr., who presented the flag on behalf of the two ladies that made it, was the man to whom Austin had sent the design, and the statement of the *Telegraph and Register* that the pattern was that proposed for the flag of Texas and of independence, and there remains little doubt as to the origin and proper make up of the colors given to Baker’s company. The description printed in the *Telegraph and Register* without the drawing sent by Austin is misleading. In the absence of further information, there could be no reason for presenting the stripes in any other color than the well-known red and white of the United States flag; and the questions as to the proper place of the star and the exact implication in the use of the word “tricolour” became very puzzling. The drawing, however, settles these questions, and makes the description intelligible.

Austin’s design was laid before the other commissioners, and the three expressed themselves concerning it in writing as follows:

“In place of the star, put the *sun* with the head of Washington [*in* marked out] in the center, and rays, representing the light of liberty, radiating all around—Outside of them and above, put the motto—‘Where Liberty dwells there is my country’—Change the stripes from green to blue & have exactly thirteen of them—[Here a line and a half is obliterated] \* \* \* the stripes will then be blue and white—Change the ground of the Jack in the corner from white to yellow, or leave it white either will do, either will make a handsome Texas Jack [*of* marked out], which old Grand Father John Bull need not be ashamed [*of* marked out], or unwilling to acknowledge.

This flag is approved by us and we recommend its adoption.

S. F. AUSTIN,  
B. T. ARCHER.

I object much to the hackneyed quotation ‘Where liberty dwells there is my country.’ Its frequent use by school boys as a motto &

<sup>4</sup>A Comprehensive History of Texas, I 696; Foote’s Texas and the Texans, II 281-3, note.

by Volunteer companies on their banners have rendered it stale & fulsome. Virgil from whom it is taken expresses the sentiment antithetically. In the latin language it has much point and beauty. *Ubi Libertas—Ibi Patria*. If we are to have it [*at* probably omitted] all let us have it expressed in this way. But I should much prefer that the [*expression* marked out] motto be discarded & that the words 'The light of liberty' or the words *Lux Libertatis* if they are preferred be substituted. The [*words* probably omitted] light of Liberty apply to the sun. Underneath Washington I would have the words, 'In his example—there is safety.' With this alteration I am much pleased with the banner.

WM. H. WHARTON.

I have no objection to the motto *Lux Libertatis*, or Light of Liberty.

S. F. AUSTIN."

This is written partly on the face and partly on the back of a sheet containing a copy of Austin's design apparently exact, except as to the color of the stripes. In the example from which No. 1 is engraved they appear blue, but in the one on which the above is written they are green. The sun and its rays and the head of Washington, making up the complicated device that was to replace the star, are scrawled in free hand on the face of the drawing, and the mottoes are added. The result appears in flag No. 2 of the engraving. The document is without an address or a date, and the precise nature the commissioners meant to give it does not appear. It is now among the records in the Department of State and is in one of the boxes containing the diplomatic correspondence of the Republic.<sup>5</sup> This would indicate that it came as an official communication to the government, but there is nothing to show whether its classification was based on any other grounds than the simple fact that it bears the signatures of the three commissioners. The cover in which it is enclosed has written upon it 1835; but the writing is evidently much more recent than the document itself, and is clearly wrong.

There is one interesting point of seeming connection between this flag and that brought by Ward's battalion from Georgia in the motto so criticized by Wharton. It appears on the design as approved by Austin and Archer in the English form, "Where Liberty dwells there is my country;" while on the Ward flag it is given in the Latin, "*Ubi Libertas habitat, ibi nostra patria est.*" If *our* be used in

<sup>5</sup>File box 24, No. 2338.



place of "my," the translation becomes exact. Could there have been any connection? The Georgia battalion was encamped at Velasco for some days previous to the departure of the commissioners from that vicinity, and Austin or Archer may have seen and been attracted by the motto on its flag. The fact that it was not on Austin's original design would lead to the supposition that it was proposed by Archer. Wharton characterized it as a "hackneyed quotation;" and if this was true no one necessarily owed it to anybody in particular. On the other hand, his reference to the frequent use of it "by Volunteer companies on their banners" might seem to contain a sly suggestion that it was taken from the Ward flag.<sup>6</sup>

It is interesting further to note that this elaborate design was actually realized in silk. There is in the collection of Colonel Bryan a letter from Mrs. Holley, dated Lexington, Kentucky, June 1, 1836, and addressed to Austin at Louisville,<sup>7</sup> in which she writes,

among other things, as follows: "\* \* \* Miss James has painted your flag on silk—sun Washington & all—it is beautiful—it is to be presented by Henrietta<sup>8</sup>—with an appropriate speech written for

<sup>6</sup>He said it came from Virgil, meaning, of course, originally; but I have not been able to find it in the writings of that author. The nearest expression to it that I know of in Latin literature is a quotation given by Cicero in the *Tusculan Disputations*, V. 37, 108, which reads: "*Patria est ubicumque est bene.*" This was located for me by Professor W. J. Battle of the University of Texas. An article in the *Texas Almanac* for 1861, gives a statement from General McLeod to the effect that the Latin motto placed by Miss Troutman upon the Ward flag "was her own."

General McLeod says also, by the way, that the English inscription on the flag was *Texas and Liberty*. Mrs. Looscan, following the description of Mr. Lewis Washington, quoted in the same article, makes it *Liberty or Death*. I am inclined to believe that General McLeod's version is correct. The rather convincing evidence he offers that he remembers the expressions aright, is supported by the fact that the account of the meeting at which the raising of Ward's company was begun published in an extra of the *Georgia Messenger*, is headed by the very words, printed in large letters, which General McLeod says were used on the flag. The letter of introduction which Ward brought from Robert Collins to Austin, and which is now among the Austin papers, is written on the fly-leaf of one of these circulars.

<sup>7</sup>The directions show that it followed him to New Orleans.

<sup>8</sup>Daughter of Henry Austin, and niece of Mrs. Holley.

her *by myself*—Friday afternoon. How interesting to have you here.<sup>9</sup> It will be in Mrs. Hart's lawn. We tried to have it today, but the weather has been so bad [that the flag] could not be got dry, and it rains fast—All the military were to parade. We tried to hurry it because some of the troops are to start tomorrow in the Car—There is an encampment and rendezvous in Shelbyville—another is in Louisville—Some have gone on there. \* \* \*

\* \* \* I furnished the silk for the Flag—Gen. McCauley the staff & spear head. \* \* \*

\* \* \* It has been suggested that at the presentation of the Flag in Mrs. Hart's lawn—you being present to make a speech—1-000 \$ or more might be collected you had better come. \* \* \*

What became of this flag? I should be very grateful for any information concerning it.

The ordinary definition of a word calls it the sign of an idea, and it is astonishing to see how much of intense emotion may be sometimes indicated by such a sign. How fitly does the same definition apply to a national ensign; and among all those suggested for Texas, or actually used during the Revolution, there are none that have more significance than Austin's original design and the complicated modification by the commissioners. The mute appeal by the Texans to their near and still nearer of kin which lay in joining the British Jack to the stripes of the American Union was at once proud and pathetic. But had the appeal been answered by the United States with the right degree of unanimous official cordiality, it is likely that our decade of independence and separate national life would have been reduced to a few short months, and that we should now scarcely know the flag of which we are so proud at all.

<sup>9</sup>She doubtless means, *How interesting it would be, etc.*

## ROUTE OF CABEZA DE VACA.

BETHEL COOPWOOD.

*Part II.*

This part will present two routes from Nogales, pursuing them to their western termini, to afford the reader an opportunity to determine which, if either, is the true route in question. The most southerly, in the conception of the writer, embracing the greater number of natural objects mentioned by Cabeza de Vaca as existing along this part of his route, it will be taken up first. Along it there will be pointed out nine leading objects, with their circumstances, marks of identity, and connection with and relation to each other and their bearings along the route. They are:

First, the beautiful river on which there was an Indian village where they ate the *piñones*.

Second, the large river coming from the north, crossed after going through the valleys where the Indians chased and killed the hares.

Third, the very large river whose water was breast deep, crossed at the end of the fifty leagues' march through the rough, dry mountains.

Fourth, the river flowing between some mountains, with an Indian village on it where the captive woman's father lived, and another a day's march further on, the people of which Cabeza says they called those of the Cows.

Fifth, the river up which Cabeza de Vaca says they made seventeen days' march and then crossed it, which is the fourth large one mentioned by him as crossed after leaving the Avavares.

Sixth, the place where they got the arrows with emerald points, the cotton robes, and the deer hearts.

Seventh, the town where they were waterbound for fifteen days.

Eighth, the mountain on the point of which the Indians had congregated, and where they gave the Spaniards a large quantity of maize.

Ninth, the place where they found Diego Alcaraz and made the document,—and thence the probable route pursued to San Miguel, the Christian town in Nueva Galicia.

The facts and circumstances mentioned by Cabeza de Vaca tending to identify each of these objects and places will be examined and the order in which they come kept in view to avoid being misled by imaginary flights of hundreds and even thousands of leagues.

In construing that part of the relation touching this portion of the route, the highest dignity and greatest weight should be given to natural objects named by Cabeza de Vaca, when they can be ascertained with reasonable certainty; which will apply with peculiar force to those objects he could have had knowledge of only by actual experience. Next in importance are the positions of these natural objects and their relation to each other and to the main route. Last and least in importance are course and distance, or time spent in going over the latter. But patent exaggeration and statements liable to have been influenced by circumstances after reaching the Spanish settlements, should not be given controlling influence; and when in conflict with the route marked by the principal natural objects called for, or contradicting known historical facts, they should be rejected altogether.

With these rules in view to guide the investigation, the route will be taken up again at Nogales in sight of the south end of Sierra de Pamoranes which is within fifteen leagues of the Gulf coast, and the beautiful river on which stood the village where they ate the *piñones* will be sought as the first leading natural object called for on this part of the route.

Before reaching Nogales, or the place of twenty houses, Cabeza de Vaca met the women loaded with flour of maize, who told him that forward on that other river he would find houses and plenty of prickly pears and of that flour;<sup>1</sup> and Prieto says that some of the people of the tribes from Rio Conchas to Rio Santander had fields of maize and beans.<sup>2</sup> He also mentions the Sierra de Pamoranes north of Sierra de San Carlos, with an open space between the two

<sup>1</sup>Naufraios, Cap. XXVIII.

<sup>2</sup>Prieto: Historia, Geografia, y Estadística del Estado de Tamaulipas, p. 127.

six or seven leagues in width traversed by Rio de Conchas,<sup>3</sup> which flows by Nogales. So these mountains, the space between them, the river traversing it, and that the Indians grew corn there, were all recognized by Escandon's expedition in 1749; and Cabeza de Vaca could only have known what he says of this region from actual experience.

There being neither natural objects nor particular places mentioned to identify the three days' march made with the people of the twenty houses, it may be assumed to have been along the south side of Rio de Conchas to where Trinidad is now, where they received the gourds.<sup>4</sup> From there they went on inland by the skirt of the mountain more than fifty leagues, at the end of which they found forty houses: and, among other things given them there, Dorantes got a large copper hawkbell, having the figure of a face upon it, which the Indians said they had obtained from others their neighbors, who had brought it from towards the north, where there were many such highly esteemed. And Cabeza de Vaca says they understood that wherever it came from smelting and casting were carried on.<sup>5</sup>

The only description of these fifty leagues being that they were along the skirt of the mountain going inland, the calls for other objects before and after reaching the forty houses must serve to identify their site with reasonable certainty.

By inland Cabeza de Vaca must have meant away from the coast, and therefore in a westerly direction; and Sierra de Pamoranes, within fifteen leagues of the coast and between it and the place where they got the gourds, is a natural object in the rear to show where the mountain along the skirt of which they traveled should be situated. On the north side along there is an open plain, while on the south side a high range of mountains extends from Burgos

<sup>3</sup>Prieto: Historia, Geografia, y Estadística del Estado de Tamaulipas, p. 230.

<sup>4</sup>Naufragios, Cap. XXIX. This name, gourds or *guajes*, is used by Prieto, who says: "By this name there has always been known in Tamaulipas a species of calabash of different shapes and sizes, which once dried by smoke or heat of fires, are emptied of the seeds and interior filaments, the shell remaining as resisting as if of wood, and ready to receive in its hollow all classes of liquor." See his note 36, p. 121.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., Cap. XXIX.

westward to near Linares. Velasco calls these "the mountains of Bernal, which are the beginning of the Sierra de San Carlos," and says: "at the foot of these mountains the Nuevo Leon plains extend towards the northeast to the Rio Bravo and the Gulf of Mexico."<sup>6</sup>

In the vicinity of the present sites of Linares and Hualahuises will be assumed to be where they found the forty houses and got the hawkbell, as these two places are only six or seven miles apart, and the latter was an ancient Indian settlement, where the early fathers established a mission called "San Cristobal de Hualahuises."<sup>7</sup> And though it is not fifty leagues from where they got the gourds to this vicinity, the calls for natural objects beyond it will be sufficient to prevail over the statement of distance they traveled to get there.

Cabeza de Vaca says: "We left the next day, going over a mountain seven leagues across, the stones of which were scorix of iron, and at night arrived at many houses on the banks of a very beautiful river."<sup>8</sup> And in going from the vicinity of Linares and Hualahuises to Galeana, the old trail passed over a mountain about seven leagues across, the stones of which had the appearance of scorix of iron, which Cabeza must have known from going over it; so it will be assumed that Galeana is now situated where the houses were found on the very beautiful river. These calls for such a mountain and the houses on the river as being after they got the hawkbell will certainly be given greater weight than can be due to the call for traveling the distance of fifty leagues.

Of the place on the beautiful river Cabeza de Vaca says: "And the lords of the houses came out to the middle of the road, with their children on their shoulders, to receive us, and gave us many little bags of periwinkles and antimony ground together, with which they anoint their faces;<sup>9</sup> and they gave us many beads and robes of cowhides, and loaded all who came with us with some of every thing

<sup>6</sup>Velasco: *Geografia y Estadística*, Nuevo Leon, p. 151.

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 149.

<sup>8</sup>*Naufraios*, Cap. XXIX.

<sup>9</sup>Mr. Smith's translation is not followed here, because *margaritas* meant periwinkles or pearls; and *alcohol*, as used in the relation, is properly translated "antimony." The Rio de Conchas derives its name from the shells growing in it, which also grow in its affluent Alcantarillas. See Prieto: *Historia*, etc., p. 235.

they had. They eat prickly pears and *piñones*. There are in this country small *piñones*, and the burrs (*piñas*) are the size of small eggs, but the *piñones* are better than those of Castile, because they have the shells very thin, and when they are green they grind them and make balls and so eat them; and if they are dry they grind them with the shells and eat them made into powder.”<sup>10</sup>

Velasco says Galeana is “situated on the margins of the *arroyo* of Alcantarillas in the valley of its name, in an agricultural region fertile in cereals and fruits.”<sup>11</sup> And going into the place on the old trail the valley presents a beautiful aspect, there being many willows and other handsome trees growing along the stream.

Among the timbers most abundant in the municipality of Galeana, Velasco mentions the *piñon*,<sup>12</sup> and of Iturbide, bounding it on the east, and Aramberri, bounding it on the south, he says the same.<sup>13</sup> The *piñon* is very abundant in the western part of the municipality of Galeana on the declivities of Cerro de Potosí. Don Rafael Treviño Leal, formerly an officer in the customs service at Monterey, but now living in Laredo, Texas, who visited the Hacienda de Potosí in 1868, going to all the ranchos it embraced, in connection with his official duties in the enforcement of the payment of the dues on the estate of Jesus Terán, the owner, who died while in Paris, says:

“I passed through the *piñon* region on the declivities of Cerro de Potosí, and gathered the *piñones* at several places there. The small thin-shelled kind, growing in burrs or cones (*piñas*) the size of a small hen egg, are abundant there, and are gathered and taken to Galeana and other places for sale.”

Don Julian Palacios, present treasurer of Duval county, Texas, who has spent much time at Galeana, says the *piñones* brought into that city are the same as those brought into Alpine on the Southern Pacific railway, where he has also spent much time. O. P. Reid, of Laredo, Texas, having eaten the *piñones* of New Mexico and those growing on Sierra Encantada in the northern part of Coahuila, Mexico, says they are of the same kind. Having eaten the *piñones*

<sup>10</sup>Naufragios, Cap. XXIX.

<sup>11</sup>Geografía y Estadística, Nuevo Leon, p. 163.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., p. 162.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., p. 165.

of New Mexico, Sierra Encantada, and Galeana, the writer found the little thin-shelled kind at the latter place the same as those at the other two. And though Cabeza de Vaca does not say what was the species to which those he described belonged, the thin-shelled kind of Galeana might well be included in that of the *pinus edulis*. Anyway, the fact that they are there in abundance may serve to show that the *piñon* part of Cabeza de Vaca's description is fairly answered by the facts on the ground at Galeana; and the reader may determine for himself whether these signs of identity require the application of the rule to make them, as called for after they got the hawkbell, control the calls for time and distance before reaching them, and whether the Alcantarillas is the beautiful river and Galeana the place on its bank referred to by Cabeza de Vaca, who could have known such facts only by experience.

Of the hawkbell Cabeza de Vaca says: "They told us that where it came from there were many flat thin pieces of that metal buried, \* \* \* and there were houses with foundations there, and this we believed to be the South Sea, as we always had notice that it is richer than that of the North."<sup>14</sup>

How did they get such notice as to the South Sea or Pacific? Does not this indicate impressions received after they reached the Spanish settlements? It will be remembered that this was between the first and second great rivers, rendering it impossible for it to have been on the Pacific slope under any theory as to these rivers yet read by the writer.

If, as Cabeza de Vaca says, the Indians told him "they got it from others their neighbors, who brought it from towards the north," is it not fair to presume he there meant the North Sea, as he called the Gulf? Were not the circumstances such as to aid the conclusion that his meaning was, that they brought the hawkbell from towards the Gulf? If so, is not such aid powerfully corroborated by the fact that the hawkbell was obtained before they reached the place where they ate the *piñones*, but after leaving the mountain within fifteen leagues of the Gulf coast?

For more than thirteen years before Cabeza de Vaca went through the country, there were Spanish settlements at Pánuco and along the coast there, where the Indians could have bartered for such

<sup>14</sup>Naufraios, Cap. XXIX.



things. Cortés made his campaign along Lake Champayan in 1522, driving into the mountains thousands of coast Indians, who might have carried such things with them. Such articles may have been obtained from Garay's command on its march through the country from Rio de las Palmas to Pánuco in 1523, or from Pineda's ship captured in the Pánuco river by Indians. As Pánuco is not over ninety leagues from Linares, it is not very strange this hawkbell should have been in the hands of Hualahuises at the latter place in 1536; and being brought from towards the North, or the Gulf coast, these abundant opportunities to have obtained it there strengthen the conclusion that it was obtained there. And as the Indians where they ate the *piñones* told the Spaniards "that there were many flat thin pieces of that metal buried" where it came from, it is not impossible that those who captured Pineda's ship should have found on it the pieces of copper and buried them there.

In the ruins of las Palmas, a village destroyed by Cortés, Prieto found a flat, sharp-pointed piece of copper five inches long. In 1850, a Mexican found, in the ruins in the valley of Tamesí, a small golden cup, roughly wrought, and rather having the appearance of a little bell; and later a farmer found, in the ruins above the houses of Palmas Altas, on the left margin of the Tamesí, four circular plates of gold, three inches in diameter and weighing six ounces each.<sup>15</sup> Finally, the golden image of the head and face of Quetzalcoatl, found in the pyramid of Pajin south of Pánuco, shows that the people inhabiting that region at an early date had knowledge of such metal; and it is probable that metallic things of value were found in the sepulchres of the caciques round Pánuco, as Guzman was not a person who would have been robbing so many graves if they contained no valuable matter.

But having had no communication with Guzman or any person in his province of Pánuco, Cabeza de Vaca did not "always have notice" of these things on the Sea of the North, as he called the Gulf; and, therefore, he attributed them to the Sea of the South, as he called the Pacific, though it was impossible for him to have had any communication from Guzman or any of his followers, after they went into Nueva Galicia, until he reached the Spanish settle-

<sup>15</sup>Prieto: *Historia*, etc., pp. 39-40.

ments, where such things might have been suggested to him for a purpose.

At the place where they ate the *piñones*, they were given many robes of cow skins,<sup>16</sup> which indicates that the Indians living there either went to the cow range to kill them or traded with others for the skins; and as they were not far from the plains stretching out to the Rio Grande, they may have made regular trips to meet the cows. But this cow or buffalo question will be examined in Part III.

Cabeza de Vaca says: "We took leave of these and traveled among so many kinds of people and such diversity of tongues, that memory is not sufficient to recount them,"<sup>17</sup> which probably applies to all the country he passed through before reaching the village on the stream flowing between the mountains.

Prieto enumerates seventy-two tribes and over thirty distinct tongues found in that region in 1749, and a like number are mentioned by Santa Maria, and in the historical branch of the *Archivo General* of Mexico; but there seems to have been no such diversity of tongues reported to have existed elsewhere in the country in so small a section of territory. Indeed, this great number of distinct tongues known to have existed among the mountains between Cerro de Potosí and the Tamesí river is a remarkable circumstance to identify this as the country through which Cabeza de Vaca passed after leaving the place where they ate the *piñones*; and he could not have ascertained the fact of these circumstances except by actually going along there. He mentions one trait common to all these tribes, that "they always sacked each other,"<sup>18</sup> and he says they had with them so many people they did not know what to do with them.

"Along those valleys where we traveled," says Cabeza de Vaca, "each of them carried a club three palms in length, and, all going deployed on the flanks, when they jumped a hare (of which there were many), they surrounded it at once, and it was wonderful to see the number of clubs thrown at it; and in this way they made it go from the ones to the others; this, in my view, being the most handsome chase that could be thought of, because many times the hare would run into the hands of the hunters. When we halted at

<sup>16</sup>Naufragios, Cap. XXIX.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid.

night, the number they had given us was so great that each of us had eight or ten *cargas* of them.”<sup>19</sup>

A *carga* is commonly understood to be three hundred pounds, a mule load, and ten such loads for each of the four would be forty *cargas*, or twelve thousand pounds of jack rabbits.

This kind of game is still abundant on the plains and in the valleys between Galeana and Doctor Arroyo. Don Rafael Treviño Leal says when he was traveling along there, in 1858 and 1868, visiting and inspecting the offices of the tax collectors, the *liebre* (jack rabbit) was in sight all the while, bounding over the plains in every direction. And this game being called for along the valleys, before they went among the rough, dry mountains, and after leaving where they ate the *piñones*, it would be proper to show a like coincidence in going out from such a place on any route adopted; for the absence of such game on this part of a route proposed would be strong negative evidence against its being that pursued by Cabeza de Vaca and his comrades. To answer the call, it should be shown to be between the first and second of the great rivers they crossed on such route, as it is shown to be on that here adopted; else the one assuming the route would have his rivers and jack rabbits confounded.

The chase exhibited to the viceroy, Mendoza, in 1540, may repel the presumption of that described by Cabeza de Vaca being unknown to the natives, and bring it within the bounds of credibility. The viceroy having frequently expressed a desire to witness a chase like those exhibited to Moctezuma, the caciques made for him one exactly corresponding to the description. The site selected was a broad plain between Jilotepec and San Juan del Rio, where spectators could see and pursue with the eye all the movements of the hunters, at whatever point they might be in the vast scene upon which they were to display their dexterity and ability. At a place deemed convenient, the caciques improvised on the plain a pavilion from which the viceroy and his suite could witness the spectacle. And more than fifteen thousand Indians took their positions, and, watching the game, went on forming themselves into a circle, conducting the game towards the pavilion in which the viceroy and his *caballeros* were seated; the dexterity of the Indians in watching the game they

<sup>19</sup>Naufragios, Cap. XXIX.

had imprisoned in the circle, and marching it on towards the place the hunters proposed, affording them great pleasure and satisfaction. Having regaled the sight with such agreeable scene, the signal was given for the killing to begin. It was at noon when the Indians, with wonderful swiftness, but maintaining admirable order, dashed upon the animals, letting fly their unerring arrows. The spectacle lasted till sunset, astonishing the viceroy with the amount of game killed in the chase; the number of deer being over seven hundred, and that of wolves and jack rabbits being each as great or greater.

Content with having seen what he had heard related and exaggerated from his arrival in Mexico, the viceroy promised to witness another chase within two years, and, thanking the caciques for the good time they had afforded him, and to perpetuate the memory of that chase, which was the first after the fall of the Aztec Empire, he named the place "*Llano del Cazadero*" (Plain of the Chase), the name it still has.<sup>20</sup>

This chase having occurred after Cabeza de Vaca wrote his relation, he could not have borrowed from it, no matter what may be said of his knowledge of those of Moctezuma's days.

Without informing us how far his chase extended or the number of days it continued, Cabeza de Vaca says they went on to where "they crossed a great river coming from the north," and thence thirty leagues over a plain to where they found many people coming from afar off to receive them.<sup>21</sup>

Rio Blanco, coming from the north, flows in a southerly direction to near where Aramberri now stands, and there turning to the east, flows through a deep narrow *cañon* in the Sierra Madre and on by Soto la Marina to the Gulf, changing its name to Rio de Soto la Marina after passing the *cañon*. It is the same the Spaniards called Rio de las Palmas, which was the boundary named between the Florida of which Narvaez was made governor and the province of Pánuco. Of this river Velasco says: "The Rio Blanco passes to the north of Aramberri; coming from the mountain, it flows along the *cañon* 12 kilometers from the Cedrito southward to the Molino north of the Cabecera; it passes the mountain and penetrates

<sup>20</sup>Zamacois: *Historia de Mejico*, IV, 660-662.

<sup>21</sup>Naufragios, Cap. XXIX.

Tamaulipas through a narrow *cañon*.”<sup>22</sup> Again he says of it that “passing through the heart of the Sierra Madre and going out of it in Ibarrillos, penetrating Tamaulipas where it is known by the name of Rio Soto la Marina. This river has a great abundance of water.”<sup>23</sup>

It is about sixty miles from Galeana to this river, and the way the Spaniards may have traveled it is seventy miles, requiring five days to make it on foot. So we have Rio Blanco for the great river coming from the north, the second such crossed by Cabeza de Vaca, and the second leading natural object to be pointed out in Part II.

The next distance of thirty leagues over some prairies to where they found many people who, from afar from there, were coming to receive them, and came out on the road where they had to pass,<sup>24</sup> was over the plains from Rio Blanco to near where the present town of Mier y Noriega stands, not more than twenty leagues by a right line. From this point these people guided them through more than fifty leagues of unpopulated and very rough mountains, so dry there was no game, which caused them to suffer much hunger, and at the last they crossed a very large river, the water of which was breast deep, and there the people took them to some prairies at the end of the mountains, where people came from afar from there to receive them.<sup>25</sup>

Though Cabeza de Vaca gives no course for this fifty league march, it will be remembered that he had an idea where Pánuco was situated on the coast, and knew there were Spanish settlements there when he sailed from Spain. He must have known he had gone inland some distance from where he left the mountain fifteen leagues from the coast, and probably thought he had gone far enough south to be opposite to Pánuco, and therefore determined to cross the mountains in an easterly direction. So it will be presumed that this stretch of fifty leagues, over which they were guided through the rough mountains, was from where they met the many people on the prairie near Mier y Noriega through the Sierra Madre

<sup>22</sup>Geografía y Estadística, Nuevo Leon, p. 167.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., p. 17.

<sup>24</sup>Naufragios, Cap. XXIX.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid., Cap. XXX.

to the present site of Ocampo on the left margin of the south fork of the Tamesí, and thence to Comandante between and near the junction of the two forks of that river, and that they there crossed the southern branch of it, which is quite a river there, and its water may well have been breast deep. So it fills the description of the third great river beyond which the people began to suffer from the great hunger and labors they endured in those mountains. Their route from this river to the prairies at the end of the mountains was southward between the Tamesí and the mountains, and possibly to near where Limon is now. There they met the people who came from afar off, and gave so many things to those accompanying the Spaniards that they left half of them on account of being unable to carry them. And there the Spaniards told these people they desired to go towards the sunset, and were informed that in that direction the people were very far away.<sup>26</sup> And from there they sent forward the two women to look for people, and followed them to a point agreed upon to await their return, which may have been on the little stream putting in above the present site of Tamatan. Here the Spaniards told the Indians to take them towards the north, and were told that in that direction there were no people except far off.<sup>27</sup>

Here the circumstances must be considered to determine whether by "towards the north" they meant in a northerly direction, or meant the direction of the Gulf, which they called the Sea of the North. Further on Cabeza de Vaca says they would not follow the road of the cows because it was toward the north, which was for them a very great round-about way, because they always held it for certain that, going to the sunset, they would have to find what they desired.<sup>28</sup> Did they not desire to find Spanish settlements? Though the settlements at Pánuco might have been broken up, they were confident they would find a land of Christians round the City of Mexico, which they knew to be inland. If they did not desire to go northward on the cow road, but did wish to be taken towards the north by the Indians, then in the first instance they must have meant toward the north pole, as that was the direction the road to the cows

<sup>26</sup>Naufraios, Cap. XXX.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid., Cap. XXXI.

led, and in the second they must have meant toward the Gulf, which they called "la Mar del Norte." And toward the Gulf meant to go in search of Spanish settlements in the province of Pánuco.

After the Spaniards had been waiting three days at the point agreed upon, the women returned, saying that all the people had gone to the cows, that it was in their season.<sup>29</sup>

The next day they left there and at the end of three days halted; and the next day Castillo and the negro, taking the two women for guides, left there, and she who was a captive took them to a river which flowed between some mountains where there was a village in which her father lived.<sup>30</sup>

The three days' march must have been along the prairie to the gap in the mountains at the north end of Cerro de Tonchina, and from there Castillo and the negro went forward through the gap to the village on the eastern branch of Rio de Valles; and Castillo returning with the good news of houses and people who had beans, pumpkins, and maize, and saying the negro would bring the people to meet them, the Spaniards started and a league and a half from there met them, and six leagues further reached the village, which was probably near where the east prong of Rio de Valles forks. Here were the first houses the Spaniards saw that had the appearance or style of such.<sup>31</sup> Here they remained one day, and the next arrived at other houses having foundations, which completes the fourth leading point to be shown in this part.

The people of this last village the Spaniards called "de las Vacas." It is the present city of Valles, of which Cabrera says: "There are no data of the epoch of its foundation; indeed, the settlement existed from before the conquest, and was called, in the Indian tongue, Tanzocob, place of clouds.

When the territory was occupied by the Spaniards, they called this place Santiago de la Villa de Valles."<sup>32</sup>

<sup>29</sup>This story, that all had gone to the cows, was told by the two women on their return, and is all that is known of such fact, as it is not mentioned afterwards.

<sup>30</sup>Naufragios, Cap. XXX.

<sup>31</sup>This place was probably on the stream flowing between Tonchina and Colmena mountains.

<sup>32</sup>Cabrera's Quinto Almanaque Potosino, p. 66.

This place was certainly inhabited when Cabeza de Vaca passed through the country in 1536, and was still within the original design to go to Pánuco, and not more than forty leagues from there, and he could not have described it so without seeing it. And they may have had reasons for going inland from Sierra de Pamoranes besides that given by Cabeza de Vaca for not going to the point of that mountain near the coast.<sup>33</sup> The great number of bays extending inland being difficult to cross, and the delays they would cause, if they were to be gone round, must have been taken into consideration; and they doubtless knew of the total routing of the coast tribes from Pánuco up the Champayan lake and almost to Rio de las Palmas, by Cortés, and the wholesale slaughter and burning of the caciques and their tribesmen at Pánuco by Sandoval, as these things occurred over four years before the Narvaez expedition sailed from Spain; and such knowledge would naturally cause them to fear that the coast tribes below Rio de Conchas might seek revenge upon four defenseless, naked men, three of whom were Spaniards. For even those on Mal-Hado intimated that they knew something of such tragedies when they replied to the request that they should take the naked Spaniards to their houses, by saying that ought not to be spoken of, because if they took them to their houses they might sacrifice them to their idols;<sup>34</sup> and though it is stated that "some of them had been in New Spain," it does not appear what part of that country they had visited. It seems, however, they spoke jestingly, as they took the Spaniards to their houses, or lodges, and treated them kindly, while there is no evidence that they worshipped or offered sacrifice of any kind to idols. And while the Spaniards were in Tanzocob, the people there must have told them some story that revived their fears and deterred them from going to Pánuco; else their knowledge of the bearing of that place from Espiritu Santo Bay, and of the fact it was a Spanish settlement when they left Spain, would have caused them to still pursue their route to it to find Christians.

The natural conditions of this place whose inhabitants the Spaniards called "de las Vacas," deducible from what Cabeza de Vaca says of its surroundings, may be collated with and applied to those

<sup>33</sup>"Because all the people there were bad." Naufragios, Cap. XXVIII.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., Cap. XII.



of Tanzocob, in order to ascertain whether it is the ancient village of those Indians.

Cabeza de Vaca says: "Es tierra muy poblada."<sup>35</sup> It is a country thickly populated. This is corroborated by what was found there in 1740.

Prieto says: "Contiguous to Sierra Madre, having on the south the jurisdiction of Villa de Valles and extending themselves towards the north to the *campañas* in which Victoria was afterwards founded, there were found in 1740 the tribes of the Janambres, Pisones, and Siguillones, who were as yet and always had been of the most audacious in their incursions and combats."<sup>36</sup> And he says the "Molinas and the Mariguanes lived with these three nations. Of the latter he says there was also a tribe in the space which extends from the Sierra de la Tamaulipa Occidental to the sea, and also in the Oriental some fractions of them were found. And the ruins north and northeast of Valles to and along the west side of Tamesí show that region was inhabited by people, who, like those of Tanzocob, erected houses and lived in groups or towns." Again he says: "In the year 1746 the indigenous tribes that inhabited the mountains and the coasts of the colony were very numerous; in their customs they were almost complete barbarians and wild; they lived in complete nudity."<sup>37</sup> Cabeza de Vaca says of those at Tanzocob: "Esta gente andan del todo desnudos, a la manera de los primeros que hallamos."<sup>38</sup> These people go totally nude, in the manner of the first ones we found. So the country there was, as Cabeza de Vaca says, "muy poblada," and the people went nude when the Spaniards went among them, making the descriptions agree in these particulars.

Tanzocob was on a river, and so is Valles, and Cabeza de Vaca says of the buffalo: "Y por aquel rio arriba mas de cincuenta leguas, van matando muchas de ellas."<sup>39</sup> And up that other river more than fifty leagues they go killing many of them. This expression refer-

<sup>35</sup>Naufragios, Cap. XXX.

<sup>36</sup>Prieto: Historia, etc., p. 113.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid., p. 112.

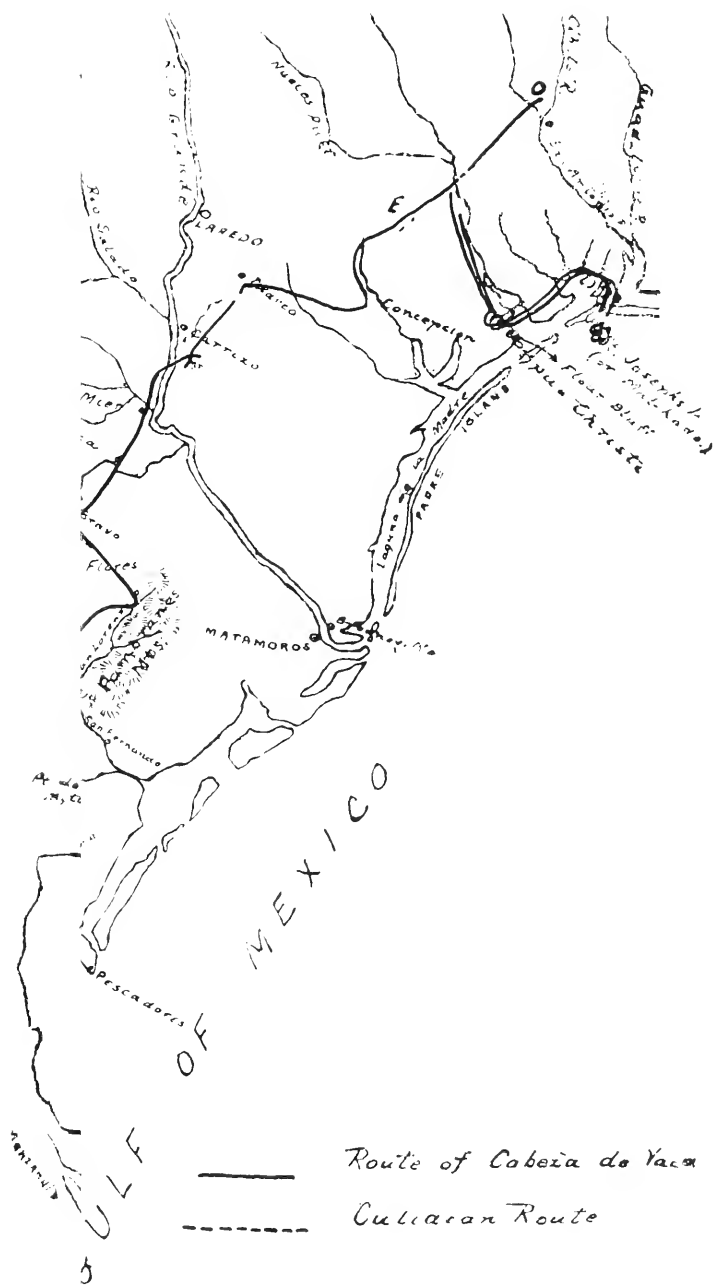
<sup>38</sup>Naufragios, Cap. XXX.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid.

ring to another river is used as if he were at the village on one river and speaking of another up which they went; and as the town of Tanzocob was on a river and the road to the cows was up another and to the north, the expression suited the Tamesí for "*aquel río*," or that other river. The Indians there told them "they brought the corn from where the sun goes down," and being asked the way to go there, they said the road was up that other river towards the north, doubtless meaning the other river which was towards the Gulf from the town. So there were at least three rivers near there. At Valles there are the Río de Valles on the left margin of which the town stands, the Río Tamesí northeast of there, flowing down from the north, and the Río Bagres southeast of there, in the direction of the Gulf, flowing down from the far west, or where the sun goes down, where maize grew all over the land. So it is believed that the Indian tribes, with their customs, and the three rivers so related to the site of the town, sufficiently identify it as the one whose people the Spaniards called "*de las Vacas*."<sup>40</sup>

Cabeza de Vaca says: "We also desired to know from what place they had brought that corn, and they told us that they brought it from where the sun goes down, that it was in all that land, and the nearest to there was on that road. We asked by what way we might go well, and that they should inform us of the road, because they did not want to go there. They told us the road was up that other river towards the north, and that in seventeen days' journeys we would find nothing to eat, except a fruit they called *chacan*, and they beat it between some stones, though after this is done it is so rough and dry that it cannot be eaten; and this was true, for there they gave us a sample of it, and we could not eat it. They also told us that while we would be going up the river we would always be going among people who were their enemies and spoke their same tongue, and who had nothing to give us to eat, but they would receive us with very good will, and that they would give us many robes of cotton and skins and other things of those they had; and furthermore that it appeared to them that we ought in no wise to take that road. Doubting what we ought to do, and what road we should take that might be most to our advantage and purpose, we

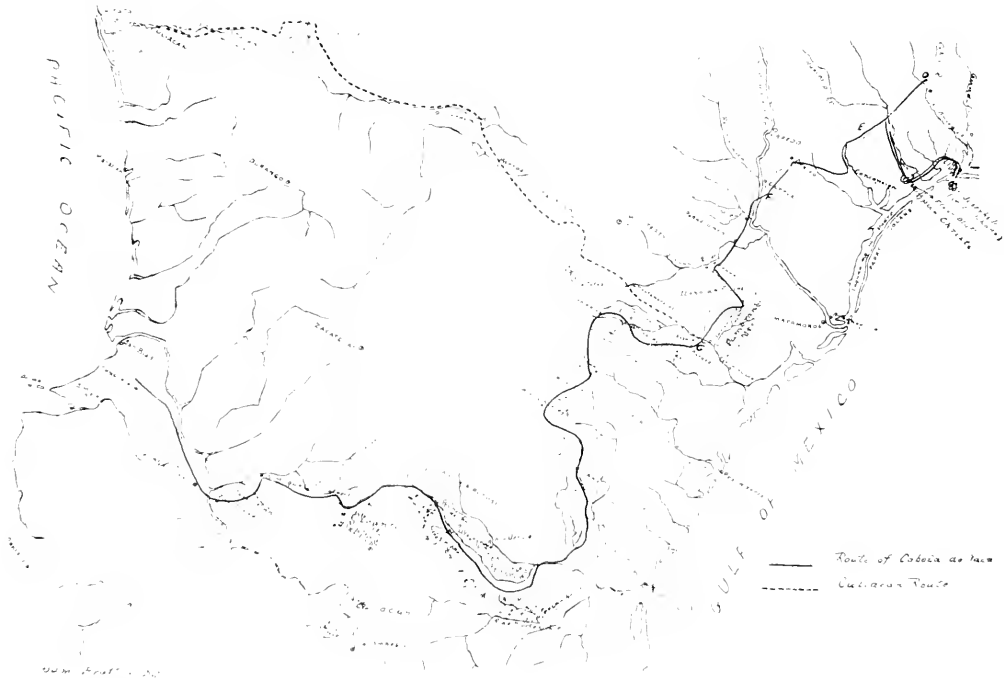
<sup>40</sup>The question of the buffalo robes here will be discussed in Part III.



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<sup>40</sup>The question of the buffalo robes here will be discussed in Part III.





remained over with them two days. They gave us beans and pumpkins to eat.”<sup>41</sup>

Then he tells how they cooked pumpkins.

“After the two days we remained there, we determined to go to hunt the maize, and would not follow the road of the cows which was towards the north, and this was a very great round-about way for us, because we always held it certain that, going to the sunset, we should find what we desired.”<sup>42</sup>

They first told the Spaniards “they brought the maize from where the sun goes down, and that it was in all that land, and the nearest was on that road.” Then they told them “the road was up that other river towards the north;” and still the Spaniards went to hunt the maize toward the sunset up that river. How shall this be reconciled?

As there used, the words “aquel rio” referred to two rivers, one beyond the other in the same direction;<sup>43</sup> and the “aquel rio hacia el norte,” meant that other river towards the Gulf, or what the Spaniards call the North Sea. So there being two rivers, one beyond the other, going from the village towards the Gulf, and going up the one most remote from the village was to the sunset, all said about it is harmonized. Tanzocob, the present Ciudad de Valles, is on the left margin of the Rio de Valles, which empties into the Rio Bagres below there. Beyond it in the direction of the Gulf, not far from the village, is the Bagres, coming from the sunset and from a land of maize, which is presumed to be the river up which the road led to the land all over which there was maize.

It was natural that at Tanzocob, in latitude 21° 50' N., the people should go without clothes, but had their village been on the higher lands in latitude 31° N., they would have been clad in skins, as were the tribes there and further north when the Spaniards first went among them.

With all these facts in view, the reader may determine for himself whether ancient Tanzocob, now Ciudad de Valles, is the place whose people the Spaniards called “de las Vacas.”

<sup>41</sup>*Naufraios*, Cap. XXX.

<sup>42</sup>*Ibid.*, Cap. XXXI.

<sup>43</sup>*Diccionario Castellano*, h. v.

Here at Tanzocob Cabeza de Vaca gets off on a high flight before giving any of the particulars of the journey or country it passes over. He says: "We followed our road, and traversed all the country until we came out at the Sea of the South; and the fear they put us in of the great hunger we would have to pass (as in truth we passed) along all the seventeen days' journey of which they had told us, was insufficient to deter us. For all of them up the river, they gave us many robes of cows, and we did not eat the meat of them, but our support was each day as much as a handful of deer tallow, which for these necessities we always managed to keep, and thus we passed all the seventeen days' journey; and at the end of them we crossed the river, and traveled other seventeen. Towards the sunset, through some prairies, and among some mountains that rise there, we found a people who for a third part of the year eat nothing but some powders of straw; and on account of its being that time when we passed by there, we had to eat it until, these journeys being completed, we found houses of foundation, where there was a great deal of gathered maize, and of it and of its flour they gave us a large quantity, and of pumpkins, beans, and cotton robes; and with all these we loaded those who had brought us there, and thereupon they turned back the most contented people in the world."<sup>44</sup>

Here we have Cabeza de Vaca's description of the thirty-four days march towards the sunset to the maize; and it will be assumed now that it was up the Rio Bagres from opposite Tanzocob, as the general course of it, going up stream, is to the sunset.

The first division of seventeen days to where they crossed to the south side of the Bagres was, in all probability, from above the junction of Rio Valles with the Bagres up to near the mouth of Rio Verde. There they crossed the Bagres, which is the fourth large river on the route, and the fifth leading object proposed to be pointed out in this part. But these seventeen days are exaggerated, unless much time was lost in following the meanders of the river.

Leaving where they crossed this river, he says they traveled other seventeen days, to the sunset, over some prairies and among some very high mountains which rise there.<sup>45</sup>

Near the junction of Rio Verde and the Bagres, on the south of

<sup>44</sup>Naufragios, Cap. XXXI.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid., Cap. XXXI.



the latter, there rise some very high mountains, a continuation of Sierra Gorda, and further west are some prairies extending up to near the present site of Salsipuedes; and these conditions fairly meet the description, except as to distance, it not being above fifty leagues, even by the tortuous route they may have pursued. All along the valleys of the Bagres here, the ancient tribes lived and cultivated maize, and it will be presumed that Cabeza de Vaca again reached this river in the vicinity of but above where Salsipuedes is now situated. Finding maize already gathered and cotton robes or cloth here shows it must have been in a very warm climate, for it could not have been later than the first week of March when they arrived here, as they arrived in San Miguel on the first of April and were waterbound at one place fifteen days. In fact, it is about  $21^{\circ} 10' N.$ , and in the low valleys of the river maize, pumpkins, and cotton grow all the year round. On the north side of the river below here, at the foot of a high mountain, there was an Indian village where Bagres is now.

Cabeza de Vaca says the cotton robes given them here were "better than those of New Spain," showing that these Indians, like those of the valley of Mexico, knew the art of weaving cotton cloth, which was also known on the Pánuco, and especially by the inhabitants of Tancanhuitz, not forty leagues eastward from Salsipuedes, and those of other towns further east and along Rio Moctezuma, when the Spaniards first went among them.

But in coming to Salsipuedes, Cabeza de Vaca must have lost or forgotten his deer tallow, as he had to eat the powdered straw.

As if leaving Salsipuedes, Cabeza de Vaca says: "We went through more than one hundred leagues of country and always found houses of foundations and much subsistence of maize and beans, and they gave us many deer and many cotton robes better than those of New Spain."<sup>46</sup>

One hundred leagues of such densely populated country, with houses, maize, beans and cotton robes, found outside of the Aztec portion of the country at that time, would have been a strange fact, and stranger still if found hundreds of miles further north. As the hundred league part of this statement bears the fleshmarks of

<sup>46</sup>Naufragios, Cap. XXXI.

Cabeza de Vaca's inclination to exaggerate, without any further description than that it was a continuous settlement, with maize, beans and cotton robes, it will be left under the rule as to patent exaggerations stated above. But along the Bagres river from Bagres up to Santa Maria del Rio was a maize producing district as early as 1540, when Fra San Miguel went into the country to convert the Indians along there and at Rio Verde; and, though less than one hundred miles in length, it will be assumed to be what Cabeza de Vaca's stretch of one hundred leagues referred to, and that he was still at Salsipuedes in his proper person while on the imaginary flight.

Of this place Cabeza de Vaca says: "They also gave us many beads of some corals there are in the South Sea, many very good turquoises, which they have from towards the north; and finally they gave us here everything they had, and to me they gave five emeralds made into arrow points, and with these arrows they make their feasts and dances; and it appearing to me that they were very good, I asked them where they had obtained them, and they said they brought them from some very high mountains which are towards the north, and that they obtained them in barter for plumes and feathers of *papagallos*, saying there were towns there of many people and very large houses."<sup>47</sup>

It will be observed that he is here telling what these Indians said about the high mountains, towns, people, and large houses, and does not pretend to have seen them, or to say they were Quivira or Cibola, and as he was in a climate where maize was already gathered in March, and cotton robes and parrots were found, he must have been many degrees south of where imagination afterwards located the places of such names.

He is here speaking of the same place where he found the gathered maize, beans, etc., to which the turquoises as well as the emerald arrow points were brought from the north, that is, of Salsipuedes, and gives no evidence of his moving on from there before he makes the following statement: "On the way we traveled by those towns there are more than a thousand leagues of populated country, and

<sup>47</sup>Naufragios, Cap. XXXI.

they have much subsistence, for they always plant beans and maize three times a year.”<sup>48</sup>

As the distance here is more than twice that from one gulf to the other, leaving no room for unsettled or uncultivated country, it will here be discarded altogether, as in contradiction to known natural and historical facts. But it may have been intended to trump or forestall Fray Niza's three hundred leagues west from Culiacan, without finding any end to the land, through towns and cities, all the people of which had large herds of woolly cattle, though one who knows the country from Culiacan to Altata, and the other way to the Gulf of Mexico will not be deceived by either story.

It seems that both the hundred leagues' flight and that of a thousand leagues were made at the place they called Corazones as they precede the account of their leaving there. Cabeza de Vaca says: "In this town we remained three days, and at one day's journey from there was another, in which so much rain fell upon us, that because a river rose a great deal, we could not cross it, and we were detained there fifteen days.”<sup>49</sup> So the town of Corazones was a single day's march before they reached the place where they were so waterbound, and the things around it may afford some means of calculating its bearing in the story. Being in the vicinity of where Salsipuedes is now, it is the home of the papagallos or parrots, the vast flocks of which around there afforded abundant opportunity for the Indians of that place to catch many and rob them of their plumage to be bartered for stones at the very high mountain north of there; and if there was such a mountain in that direction, it and the parrots will further identify Salsipuedes as the place called Corazones.

Rising to a height almost, if not quite, equaling that of Popocatepetl, nearly due north of Salsipuedes stands Cerro de Potosí, fully answering the description, and forming a majestic landmark in the western part of the municipality of Galeana. It has upon and around it all of the elements to form stones such as Cabeza describes the arrow points to be. In that municipality selenite abounds, and is there called *espejuelo*, its transparency being such that window

<sup>48</sup>Naufragios, Cap. XXXII. This flight will be treated in Part Third of this paper.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid.

lights and lanterns are made of it, and alabaster is so abundant there, that it is used to make fences.<sup>50</sup> There is abundance of iron in all that part of the Sierra Madre, as well as of copper, lead, and silver.<sup>51</sup> And Velasco says the country is crossed in all its extension by the Sierra Madre, the Cerro de Potosí rising in the northwest so high that only in the summer it is not covered with snow; and that in this municipality the Sierra Madre has for principal elements of formation the carbonate of lime, under distinct forms of composition. "For this reason there abounds in Galeana and its vicinity, alabaster, gypsum, dolomite, selenite, and statuary marble."<sup>52</sup> So in the iron pyrites are the elements for marcasite, in the selenite for the supposed emeralds with the oxide of iron for their coloring, and it is said that around Cerro de Potosí there are prisms of beryl like those at Acworth in New Hampshire, and these may have been the source of the arrow points. It is highly probable that the supposed *turquesas* and emerald arrow points were obtained in the territory of the municipality of Galeana, as it is in the proper direction and sufficiently distant from Salsipuedes, where Cabeza de Vaca got the arrow points; and the Indians living around Galeana, Linares, Hualahuises, and Montemorelos, when the Spaniards first went there, had houses and towns, and did not call them Quivira.

In the region round Salsipuedes, *monilla* and other poisonous trees are still found, meeting this circumstance mentioned by Cabeza de Vaca, and now each reader may judge for himself whether all these facts and circumstances are sufficient to justify the opinion that Salsipuedes is in the vicinity of the place the Spaniards called Corazones.

After all the flights of imagination taken by Cabeza de Vaca in chapters thirty-one and thirty-two, they were still at Corazones, for he says: "In the town where they gave us the emeralds, they gave Dorantes more than six hundred open deer hearts, of which they always have a great abundance for their support, and therefore we named it '*el pueblo de los Corazones*' (the town of hearts), and by

<sup>50</sup>Velasco: *Geografía y Estadística*. Nuevo Leon, p. 19.

<sup>51</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 112.

<sup>52</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 160.

it is the entrance to go to many provinces which are towards the Sea of the South; and if those going to hunt it should not go in by here, they will be lost, because on the coast there is no maize. \* \* \* In this town we remained three days, and at the end of a day's journey from it there was another in which there fell on us so much rain, that because a river rose very high, we could not pass and we were detained fifteen days."<sup>53</sup>

So, prescindig all his flights of imagination, Cabeza de Vaca takes up the line of march at Corazones, and the first day reaches the place where he was so detained by high water, which will be here presumed to be where the city of Santa Maria del Rio is now situated, on both sides of the river between the mountains where the water-shed from a large scope of territory west of it concentrates and finds outlet through the city. And it was here they saw a sword belt buckle on the neck of an Indian, the first notice they had of Christians.

By looking upon a modern map of Mexico, on the Mexican National Railway will be seen the city of Acambaro, and a short distance west of it a small lake, marked Lago de Cuitzeo, on the north side of which is a town called Cuitzeo. On his march into Jalisco, Guzman sent Pedro Almendez Chirinos from the region of this town northward in order to ascertain whether the direction taken on leaving Mexico was correct, and whether he could find any notices of the Amazons. After going to several other places, he "went to Sierra Gorda, and in all of them he took peaceable possession and was very well treated by the Indians."<sup>54</sup> And being at Chichimequillas, now called Lagos, on his way, and accounting for meeting many Indians on his march, he may have passed through the gap where Santa Maria del Rio is now situated, in going into the Sierra Gorda, as the stream there actually divides the mountain and flows between the two parts of it; and some one of his command may have left the buckle there. Finally, his returning through the same gap to pursue his march to Zacatecas, may have been the real foundation for the Indian fiction of their returning to the sea.

It will be remembered that Chirinos had a large encomienda in Michoacan, and that the country north of Cuitzeo and Cerro Culia-

<sup>53</sup>Naufragios, Cap. XXXII.

<sup>54</sup>Fragments by Garcia Icazbalceta, Ch. VIII.

can as far up as Zacatecas was that through which he marched and considered his conquest, when it is mentioned further on.

From Santa Maria del Rio, Cabeza de Vaca again becomes obscure, indulging in his imaginary scenes for a while, without naming a place or natural object, and then says: "They brought us robes of those they had concealed from the Christians and gave them to us, and even recounted to us how at other times the Christians had come into the country, and had destroyed and burned the towns and taken off half the men and all the women and children, and that those who had been able to escape from their hands had run away."<sup>55</sup>

On passing through the gap at Santa Maria del Rio, they entered Chirinos' conquest, where slavemaking had been a principal means of gain, and were not over sixty leagues from Chichimequillas, now the City of Lagos, where Chirinos found great numbers of Indians when he first went into that country, and he or his men may have captured and made slaves of many of the Indians in that region until the publication of the king's final decree prohibiting it, a short time before Cabeza's arrival there.

The first natural object of note, mentioned by Cabeza de Vaca, after passing the gap in the mountains, is the mountain on the point of which there was a town; and of it he says: "These conducted us to a town which is upon the point of a mountain, and it is reached by going up through great roughness; and here we found many people gathered together out of fear of the Christians. They received us very well, and gave us all they had, and they gave us more than two thousand *cargas* of maize, which we gave to those miserable and hungry people who had brought us there."<sup>56</sup>

About fifty leagues in a southwesterly direction from Santa Maria del Rio, Cerro de Gigante rises to about eleven thousand feet above sea level, and is covered with basalt,<sup>57</sup> causing its roughness. Its northwest point or *cuchilla*, about twenty leagues from Lagos, will be assumed to be the place where the town stood. All along the route from Santa Maria del Rio to this point was formerly inhabited by Chichimecas, as was the country south and west of there, and they

<sup>55</sup>Naufragios, Cap. XXXII.

<sup>56</sup>Ibid.

<sup>57</sup>Velasco: Geografia y Estadística, Guanajuato, p. 18.

had large towns at the present sites of Lagos and the city of Leon, the latter being at the foot of the western declivity of the mountain. Of it Velasco says: "Before the Conquest the site which Leon occupies was inhabited by Chichimeca Indians."<sup>58</sup> The great maize region before the Conquest was the fertile "Valle del Bajío," extending from Silao to Lagos, and the country from the latter to the entrance of the Cañon de Santa Maria, a distance of sixty leagues more, which had been depopulated by Chirinos' men before Cabeza de Vaca got there.<sup>59</sup>

When Cabeza de Vaca reached here, Guzman was giving his whole attention to the means of escaping the king's *residencia*, which he was expecting to be issued, and which did issue against him on the twenty-seventh of March, 1536. He had then neither time nor inclination to capture Indians for the slave trade. Indeed, he was endeavoring to practice tardy repentance by arresting, trying, and condemning the *alcalde mayor* and commander of Culiacan for slavemaking, and appointing the noble Tapia in his stead. So if Cabeza met men out catching Indians to make them slaves, they must have been some of Chirinos' forces up in his conquest, making slaves on their own account, and as near the Pánuco slave market as they could find Indians in New Galicia to prey upon.

Speaking of the town on the point of the mountain, Cabeza de Vaca says: "The next day we dispatched from there four messengers through the country, as we were accustomed to do, to call and convoke the most people they could at a town three days' journey from there; and, this being done, the next day we left with all the people who were there, and we always found a trail and signs where Christians had slept; and at midday we met our messengers, who told us they had not found any people, that they had all run off and concealed themselves in the mountains to prevent the Christians from killing them or making them slaves; and that the night before they had seen the Christians, they being behind some trees watching what they were doing, and saw that they were taking many Indians in chains."<sup>60</sup> He says they slept there that night, "and the next day we traveled and slept on the road; and the second day, those

<sup>58</sup>Velasco: Geografia y Estadística, Guanajuato, p. 215.

<sup>59</sup>Of this whole region of maize more will be said in Part III.

<sup>60</sup>Naufragios, Cap. XXXII.

we had sent as messengers guided us to where they had seen the Christians; and arriving at the hour of vespers, we saw clearly they had told the truth, and recognized that the people were cavalry from the stakes to which the horses had been tied.”<sup>61</sup>

After the obscure back count from Petutan, Cabeza de Vaca again gets down to the thread of his journey, and says: “Next day in the morning I took with me the negro and eleven Indians, and, upon the trail of the Christians we had been following, passed by three places where they had slept; and that day I traveled ten leagues, and the next day in the morning I overtook four Christians on horseback. \* \* \* I told them they should take me to where their captain was, and so we went half a league from there to where Diego de Alcaraz was, who was the captain.”<sup>62</sup>

They went in half a day from the town on the point of the mountain to where they met the messengers, spending the night there; next day they traveled, but the distance is not given; the next they went to where the Christians had been seen; the next he says he traveled ten leagues, and the next morning overtook the four horsemen, and went half a league from there to where the captain was, making three days and a half, and possibly two hours next morning, they were in going from the town to that place. Two days and a half were traveled with the whole multitude found on the mountain, and possibly not exceeding ten leagues, as the messengers had made it in one day; and ten leagues one day and possibly two more to where the captain was, and not more than twenty-two leagues in all from the town on the mountain to where they found Diego Alcaraz, and there made the document. He says, “from *this river* to the Christian town, which is called San Miguel, which is of the government of the province called Nueva Galicia, it is thirty leagues.”<sup>63</sup> This makes it fifty-two leagues from the town on the mountain to San Miguel. At twenty-two leagues they were on a river, as he says “from this river,” etc., and this was probably the stream flowing down from Lagos to San Juan de los Lagos, possibly thirty leagues above the present site of San Miguel on Rio Verde in Jalisco,

<sup>61</sup>Naufragios, Cap. XXXII.

<sup>62</sup>Ibid., Cap. XXXIII.

<sup>63</sup>Ibid.



within Nueva Galicia, which then extended as far to the northeast as the western declivity of Sierra Gorda. Thus far he makes no mention of Culiacan; for it was here where he met Diego Alcaraz that subsequent circumstances began to shape the story, making Culiacan, pretended to be twenty-eight leagues from there, the objective point, that being the name of the intended rendezvous for the viceroy's contemplated expedition in search of the Amazons and a northern pass.

It is here the difficulty begins, and historical facts and actual locality of places then known will have to settle it. If the statement that he went from here to Culiacan means to Culiacan in Sinaloa, then a question arises as to the distance between that place and San Miguel. He makes it twenty-eight leagues to the former, though he says it was only thirty to the latter, from where he met Alcaraz. If it was only two leagues from the one to the other, this fact ought to be known, notwithstanding he fails to state the distance, though he tells of going over it and staying at San Miguel till in May. He simply says: "And after the children were baptized, we left for the town of San Miguel."<sup>64</sup>

Now, if another person altogether was *alcalde mayor* and captain of that province, and not Melchior Diaz, in April, 1536, the presumption will be that Cabeza de Vaca did not go to Culiacan in Sinaloa; and if Diaz was in Jalisco at that time, with the troops of Chirinos, that presumption will be doubly supported; so it will here be assumed that Cabeza de Vaca met him at San Miguel on the Rio Verde, further evidence of which will be adduced in Part III.

That in the latter part of 1537, more than a year and a half after Cabeza de Vaca went through the country, Diaz went to the City of Mexico and presented a petition to the viceroy, asking for permission to make slaves of the Indians is wholly inconsistent with his having come from Culiacan in Sinaloa, where the noble Tapia had restored order among the Indians and extended to them protection against such ill treatment, after succeeding the cruel Proaño. But this will be fully examined in Part III of this paper.

It is possible that Cabeza de Vaca went from San Miguel, on Rio Verde, to Compostela, scarcely one hundred leagues, by way of Tepa-

<sup>64</sup>Naufragios, Cap. XXXIV. But he says it is 100 leagues from San Miguel to Compostela.

titlan, Zapotlanejo, and Guadalajara, if he went there at all; but this question also properly belongs to and will be discussed in Part III.

This route from Sierra de Pamoranés to San Miguel on Rio Verde was not adopted without due consideration of what has been said and written about the route terminating at Culiacán in Sinaloa; nor is it the present purpose to deny that Cabeza de Vaca intended to state in his relation that he did go there. It is believed, however, that the great preponderance of evidence—the number of leading natural landmarks on the route here adopted—is sufficient to overbalance the assertion, and show that he did not go to Sinaloa, and before this paper is finally concluded the reasons for this belief will fully appear.

Now, looking back over this route, it will be seen that Cerro de Gigante stands between San Miguel and Santa María del Río in the proper position to be the mountain on the point of which stood the Indian town where the Indians gave them the large amount of maize. Santa María's situation fully meets the conditions of the place where Cabeza de Vaca says they were waterbound fifteen days. It is in the gap in that part of Sierra Gorda, where the water from the country west and southwest of it concentrates to find outlet through the mountain; and when swollen, the river passing through there might well afford the impediment mentioned. It is more than probable that the soldiers of the command of Chirinos went through this gap in going into the Sierra Gorda, and they may have left the buckle that serves as the foundation for the whole story about Spaniards having been there. The circumstances of Salsipuedes meet Cabeza de Vaca's account of the place where he got emerald arrow points and his comrade got the open deer hearts, and which they called "*el pueblo de los Corazones*," as being the place where they found the gathered maize (*maíz allegado*). The Bagres coming from the sunset, and from the great land of maize, to the junction of the Río de Valles with it, suit the description given by Cabeza de Vaca, and that of the river they crossed at the end of the first seventeen days march up it. Valles fully meets the description of the town whose people they called "de las Vacas;" and the junction of the two prongs of the east branch of Río de Valles that of the place where they found the houses with foundations situated on the river flowing between the mountains. The

west prong of the Tamesí near the junction, meets the conditions for the third great river crossed, the water of which came up to their breasts. From here that part of the Sierra Madre extending to the vicinity of Mier y Noriega answers well for the fifty leagues of rough mountains passed through before crossing that third big river. The plain from near Mier y Noriega up to Rio Blanco satisfies the conditions of the relation, and Rio Blanco fully meets the description of the second great river coming from the north, at the end of the jack rabbit chase from the place where they ate the *piñones*. Galeana, with its surroundings, fully corresponds to the facts stated of the place where the village was on the beautiful river, where the people ate the *piñones*. The mountain crossed on the trail going over there from the neighborhood of Linares and Hualahuises, being covered with stones having the appearance of scoriae of iron, serves as a great natural monument to identify the vicinity of Linares and Hualahuises as the locality where they got the copper hawkbell. The chain of mountains to the south of Linares extending to Burgos and San Carlos suits the description of the range along the skirt of which they traveled inland, though the distance is not so great as that given. And Nogales above the point of Sierra de Pamoranes, which is within fifteen leagues of the Gulf coast, and the first so close west of the mouth of the Mississippi, meets the description of the place of twenty houses where Cabeza de Vaca passed the first night after leaving the place on the stream at the foot of the mountain and going along on the plain.

So on this route from Mal-Hado, as stated in the *Naufragios*, all the time spent by the Spaniards after being cast on the island until they ran off to the Avavares and while with them was previous to crossing the first great river coming from the north as wide as that at Sevilla, and the water of which came up to their breasts. The prickly pear region where they went two seasons to eat the pears and where they ran off to the Avavares; the place where Cabeza de Vaca met the other Spaniards; that where they went to eat the nuts; that where the buffalo herds were seen three times; that where the trees bore a fruit like pease; that where they spent the winter with the Avavares; that where they ate the flour of mesquite beans; and the thorny region where Cabeza de Vaca contemplated the suffering of his Savior under the crown of thorns, are all on the Mal-Hado side of, and before crossing, this first great river. The light colored

Indians; the mountain within fifteen leagues of the sea coast, and having a stream flowing along its west side; the place where they were given the two gourds; that where they received the copper hawkbell; the mountain along the skirt of which they traveled inland to where they got the hawkbell; that seven leagues across, covered with scoriae of iron; the village on the beautiful stream where they ate the *piñones*; and the march thence over the valleys and plains, where the Indians chased the hares, are all between the first and second great rivers. The thirty leagues' plain and fifty leagues through the rough, dry mountains come before crossing the third river, the water of which was up to their breasts. The village on the stream flowing between the mountains, and that a day's journey further on, are both between the third and fourth great rivers; the latter coming from the sunset, and the road to the maize leading up it, and crossing it several days travel above where they began to go up it. While all this is believed to identify the route so far with reasonable certainty, the want of such a chain of natural objects and circumstances, so related and adjusted to the Trinity, Brazos, Colorado, and Rio Grande seems to exclude the possibility of their being the four great rivers mentioned in the *Naufragios* as being crossed on the route after they ran off to the *Avavares*.

The three principal places where Cabeza de Vaca says they were given buffalo robes, were where they ate the *piñones*, the village where they called the people "*de las vacas*," and along the fourth river before crossing it; and the reason why the Indians at these places, that is, where Galeana and Valles now are and on the lower Bagres, may have had such things in 1536, will be given in Part III.

If Cabeza de Vaca went out at Culiacan in Sinaloa, he could have gone from Nogales to where Montemorelos is now in three days, and there have met the people who gave them the gourds. Going thence inland along the skirt of the mountains, he might have gone to some place south of the Cañon de San Isidro de Palomas, to a valley where they may have received the hawkbell, though less than fifty leagues from Montemorelos. They might have gone thence over the mountain to the north and down the San Isidro Cañon to an old Cuachichiles village, it being about seven leagues across the mountain there, with the same conditions found going over to Galeana; and on either side of the *cañon* the *piñon* trees could have been seen

on the slopes of the mountains, and the *piñones* eaten by the Indians along there could have been gathered there or brought from the declivities of Cerro de Potosí. And there is a stream flowing through this *cañon*, along which there are some very handsome views. It seems that there was an old Cuachichiles village at the mouth of this *cañon* where Cabeza de Vaca could have received the buffalo skins, eaten *piñones*, and recruited the Indians who chased the jack rabbits thence to Encantada and on over hills and plains to where the town of Parras is now, and there have crossed a river which is sometimes quite a stream. Thence he may have made the thirty leagues over the plain, meeting the multitude of people and passing on through the hills and plains to an Indian village on the lower Nazas river, not far from where the new town of Torreon is now. But if the great diversity of tongues and nations was found along there, the written account of such fact has escaped notice. Still Cabeza de Vaca's aptitude in multiplying and exaggerating may have made a separate nation, with its peculiar tongue, of every Indian family found along the river and around the lakes there; and all these being of the same family of Tobosos inhabiting the country northeast of there to the Bravo, they may have had buffalo skins to contribute.

This region is not without historical events, however slowly it may have advanced in civilization and development. In 1531-2, Oñate's command crossed over the mountain from Tamazula and discovered the valley of Guadiana where Durango now flourishes. In 1569 the missionaries came to preach to and teach the native tribes in this region. In 1843, after killing the guards at Salado in the State of San Luis Potosi, the Mier prisoners made their way to near Sierra de la Paila, where they were recaptured and taken back to Salado, and there, by drawing beans from an earthen crock, determined what ones of them should be put to death in retaliation for their having killed the guards. Finally, two trunk lines of railroads have traversed the country, crossing each other at Torreon, where soldiers, priests, merchants, doctors, and even lawyers, pass on them in four directions with almost lightning speed, without thinking of Cabeza de Vaca as their earliest Christian predecessor, naked as he was born, carrying in his hands two gourds as charms and working wonders among the afflicted Indians, who contributed liberally from their stock of maize, pumpkins, and buffalo robes.

Near here they may have taken their road up the north side of Nazas river towards the sunset as far as Tresbados, there crossing it to the south side; and going thence across the Candela mountains, they may have again reached the upper part of the same river; thence, following this river up in a southwesterly direction, and crossing over to the little Imaya flowing westward to Tamazula, they may have followed it down to Culiacan, now in the State of Sinaloa, about fifteen leagues from Altata.

While this route from Nogales may lack many of the natural signs of identity given by Cabeza de Vaca and found on that further south, already described, still those who, after reading what may be said in the third part of this paper, may insist on a route terminating at Culiacan, may enlarge upon this concise presentation of it, as their information and disposition may direct.

The sketch herewith is intended to apply to each of the three parts of this paper, to enable the reader to trace the route described from Mal-Hado to San Miguel in Jalisco, and thence by Guadalajara to Compostela, and it will be referred to more in detail in Part III, and points there explained which are not treated in this or the first part.

CAPTURE AND RESCUE OF MRS. REBECCA J. FISHER,  
NÉE GILLELAND.

REBECCA J. GILLELAND FISHER.

The following account of this terrible experience of mine appeared in a newspaper published at Florence, Alabama, in the year 1887, and in the issue for July 30th:

*A Texas Adventure.*

It was in the spring of 1840, we were in force on the San Antonio river to repel a Mexican invasion. News came to us that the Indians were at the mission of Refugio, and at night we received the information that the same Indians had killed a [Mr. Gilleland and his wife] at the Mexican village, Don Carlos Ranche. After the massacre they evidently moved up the river \* \* \*, holding two white children prisoners. About 9 o'clock on the morrow we were called out on horse, General Albert Sydney Johnston commanding. He called for a party of ten men, well mounted, to reconnoitre. I joined the party of nine and with General Johnston went one mile below. The party consisted principally of frontiersmen, but it soon became evident that they were unaccustomed to the trail, so I—having been trained \* \* \*—took observations of the surroundings, and located the trail leading into the San Antonio bottoms, which I pointed out to Gen. Johnston. Gen. Johnston here remarked that the command under arms, and in the saddle, must be tired waiting and ordered a return to camp. We then dismounted and made a cup of coffee—the Texan's beverage—and \* \* \* started for the east side of the river, the few Matagordans remaining as the expedition was breaking up.

At the head of a half a dozen men I observed an old Indian trail, obscure to the uninitiated, where I told the men the Indians would cross. After passing the bottom we met Capt. Price and his scouts, who told us that he had seen the Indians and that they had run into the timber. I told the Captain that if he would give me fifteen men I would defend the trail which I had discovered. He told me to count the men and do so. As we returned we met Adjutant Murphy, of the Regiment—Mustang Gray, hero of an after written novel—and a Mexican, white as Mexican could be from fright. They told us that the Mexicans had crossed at the trail discovered

by himself. I immediately sent word to the Captain to surround the timber while we pursued them. We were soon in the chase and bold was the riding in pursuit. There was Dr. A. F. Axsom, so distinguished afterwards as President of Board of Health, in New Orleans, Col. Kerr Purser, of Texas Navy, afterward Episcopal minister at Baltimore. Hard by was Dallam, author of Digest of Texas Statutes—now authority—and author of novel, "The Texas Star." Two miles away was our noble ex-President Mirabeau B. Lamar, and the "Hero of Shiloh," Sydney Johnston, in camp, on this lovely Texas day, and not far from Fanning's battle ground where he and his were afterwards massacred. The pursuit was far more exciting than the conflict which ensued. The Comanches scattered, and our men yelled vociferously, ardently pursuing the fleeing. It was impossible for them to escape. After clearing the timber they banked their baggage and formed a line to receive us, while a {n} \* \* \* old Chief ran up and down the line playing a flute. They had evidently counted our number and had intended to give us fair battle. I gave orders for my men to forward, and were then in the prairie moving in echelon, watching and awaiting events. It was my intention after passing them to take them in flank, for I knew that they could not leave their baggage. Firing commenced when a gay Indian, in beautiful costume, \* \* \* upon a horse handsomely caparisoned, presented too fair a picture to resist a shot. He dropped from the horse, which was one they had captured the day before, and retired into the woods, after which the Indians all took to the woods for the purpose, as I then thought, of taking to the trees. We fastened our horses and pursued them to give them fight in regular Indian style. They never rallied, but ran leaving guns, shields and Chieftain's feathers, all no great trophy. We recovered the children prisoners, a little boy, lanced or shot through the side, and a pretty curly haired girl. The case of the healing of the wound of that little boy, Wm. Gilleland, was published in the Medical Journal by Dr. A. F. Axsom, of New Orleans, and the little girl is now one of the handsomest women in Texas, and a veritable queen of society.

A. B. HANNUM, Lieut.

Dr. Anthony B. Hannum, the author of the above article, was appointed assistant surgeon of the post at Galveston, November 28, 1836, and for many years has been a most popular and successful physician. He was a lieutenant at the time of my rescue in 1840, and has been a true and devoted friend all these years. He is an aristocratic gentleman of the old school, beloved and honored by all who know him.

My parents, Johnstone and Mary Barbour Gilleland, were living



in Pennsylvania, surrounded with everything to make life pleasant, when they became so enthusiastic over the encouraging reports from Texas that they concluded to join the excited throng and wend their way to this, the supposed "Eldorado of the West." They hastily, and at great sacrifice, disposed of their property and leaving their home near Philadelphia set sail for Galveston with their three children. Not being inured to the hardships and privations of frontier life, they were ill-prepared for the trials which awaited them. I know not the date of their arrival, but it must have been some time between the years of '36 and '38. From Galveston they moved to either Brazoria or Matagorda, I am not sure which, and finally to Refugio county near Don Carlos Ranch, which proved to be their last earthly habitation.

My father belonged to Captain Tumlinson's company for some months, and when not in active warfare was engaged in protecting his own and other families, removing them from place to place for safety, frequently having to flee through blinding storms, cold and hungry, to escape Indians and Mexicans. The whole country was in a state of excitement. Families were in constant danger and had to be ready at any moment to flee for their lives.

The day my parents were murdered was one of those days, which youth and old age so much enjoy. That day was in strange contrast to the tragedy at its close, when the rich lamps of human life were so brutally extinguished and the ground soaked with precious blood. We were only a few rods from the house, my parents expatiating upon the beauties of nature, the goodness of God, and the dangers surrounding us. Nature full of life and beauty was all a glow, but a death-like solemnity seemed to pervade the hearts and mantle the faces of my parents as though some great calamity were near at hand. Suddenly the war whoop of the Comanche burst upon our ears sending terror to all hearts. My father in trying to reach the house for weapons was shot down, and near him my mother, clinging to her children and praying God to spare them was also murdered, and as she pressed us to her heart we were baptized in her precious blood. We were torn from her dying embrace and hurried off into captivity, the chief's wife (for so she was said to be) dragging me to her horse and clinging to me with a tenacious grip. She was at first savage and vicious looking, but from some cause her wicked nature soon relaxed, and folding me in her arms,

she gently smoothed back my hair indicating that she was very proud of her suffering victim. A white man with all the cruel instincts of the savage was with them, and several times they threatened to cut off our hands and feet if we did not stop crying, when the woman in savage tones and gestures would scold, and they would cease their cruel threats. We were captured just as the sun was setting and were rescued the next morning. Neither of us was scalped, as has been reported.

During the few hours we were their prisoners, the Indians never stopped. Slowly and stealthily they pushed their way through the settlement to avoid detection, and just as they halted for the first time the soldiers suddenly came upon them, and firing commenced. As the battle raged, the Indians were forced to take flight. Thereupon they pierced my little brother through the body, and striking me with some sharp instrument on the side of the head they left us for dead, but we soon recovered sufficiently to find ourselves alone in that dark dense forest, wounded and covered with blood.

Having been taught to ask God for all things, we prayed to our Heavenly Father to take care of us, and direct us out of that lonely place. I lifted my wounded brother, so faint and weak, and God directing me we soon came to the edge of a large prairie, when as far away as our swimming eyes could penetrate we discovered a company of horsemen. Supposing them to be Indians, frightened beyond expression and trembling under my heavy burden, I rushed back with him into the woods and hid behind some thick brush; but those brave men, who were on the alert, dashing from place to place hoping to find us, at last discovered us; and soon the clatter of horses' hoofs was heard and the voices of our rescuers calling us by name, assuring us they were our friends and had come to take care of us. Lifting the almost unconscious little sufferer, I carried him out to them as best I could, and with all the tenderness and sympathy of women, their eyes suffused with tears, those good men raised us to their saddles and hurried off to camp where we received every attention and kindness that mortal man could bestow.

We were kept in camp until the next day, when we were taken to Don Carlos Ranch. There my brother remained under the skillful treatment of Dr. Axsom and Dr. Hammond. I remained with him only one night at Don Carlos, and the following day General Albert Sydney Johnston, who was in command, took charge of me,

and with his escort conveyed me to Victoria where I was afterwards joined by my brother. As General Johnston was crossing a swollen stream I was shocked by the appearance of some so-called friendly Indians wading in the water just below where we were crossing. The very sight so alarmed me that I screamed with fright, and it was some time before the general could calm my over-taxed and almost paralyzed nerves.

General Johnston placed me under the care of a Presbyterian minister, Dr. Blair, and of his good wife, in whose charming family we remained some time. Dr. Blair was to us a father indeed, whose tender sympathy for his orphan charge can never be forgotten. His home was our home, where we were affectionately cared for and surrounded with everything possible to comfort us in our desolate condition. The shock and sorrows through which I had so recently passed had left a fearful impression. Parents gone, home with all it contained, everything taken from us, as though swept from the face of the earth. I have never been able to ascertain where my parents were buried—if at all—or my youngest brother, Thomas Battle Gilleland, who died somewhere out West.

My brother William McCalla Gilleland, although pierced through the body by the Indians, miraculously recovered. Soon after the Civil War broke out he was accidentally shot by a citizen of Austin and his hip bone was so shattered that for months he was lashed down to a litter, his life being frequently despaired of. That wound was also pronounced one of the worst ever known, and yet he survived them both many years, but suffering from their effects all through life.

I was seven years of age when my parents were murdered. Palsied with fear as I was, terrified beyond human expression, compelled to witness the death struggles of my parents, and the life blood flowing from their ghastly wounds, that heart-rending scene can never be described by tongue or pen. Fifty-nine years have passed since then, and yet my heart grows faint as that awful time passes in review. It is indelibly stamped upon memory's pages and photographed so deeply upon my heart that time with all its vicissitudes can never obliterate it.

## WANDERING JOHN TAYLOR.

W. D. WOOD.

One of the unique characters of Texas was John Taylor, known as Wandering John Taylor, from the fact that he was constantly on the move, and seemed to have no fixed abiding place. His home was said to be in Cherokee county, if a man of his restless roving habits could be said to have a home. He was a lawyer by profession. I never heard that he was a soldier, or that he fought for Texas, or that he was a politician or office-holder, or that he ever impressed in any way his personality on the laws or jurisprudence of Texas; yet there was about the man a strangeness of habit, a mysterious singularity, coupled with talents of the highest order, and a wonderful eloquence that entitle him to some recognition and remembrance as one of the characters of Texas.

On the meeting of the district court at Centreville, in Leon county, Texas, in the early spring of 1852, a gentleman on horseback, with three led horses, tied head to tail, tandem fashion, packed with blankets, provisions, and camp equipage, passed across the public square of the town, rode down to the creek near by, and in the shade of some trees where grass was plenty proceeded to dismount, and unsaddle, unpack, and stake his horses. This was my first sight of Wandering John. He had a wide range of itineracy, confining himself to no particular court circuit, and going from court to court and seeking business in the country by-ways from the people at their homes. In traveling through the country, one would meet him in the most unexpected places. He traveled on horseback, generally leading from one to three horses packed with blankets, provisions, and camp equipage. These led horses, I suppose, were gathered in the way of fees for his legal services. In this style of travel, he would suddenly appear at the county seat, at the commencement of the district court; and, as grass in those days was plenty, and stake ropes and stake pins the order of the day, he would select some convenient spot, affording grass and near to water for camp, and there take up his temporary lodging. He would

attend the session of the court, and if he had or secured any business, he would remain until it was disposed of. If he had no business in the court, or secured none, he would wait around for a day or so, and then decamp as suddenly as he came.

In traveling, if he became fatigued or night overtook him, he made his home for the time being at the first spot that offered him the welcome hospitality of shade, grass, and water, which seemed to fill the entire measure of his desires. Here in the depths of the forest, under the great trees and beside the murmuring stream, he could, undisturbed by the ambitious rivalries and struggles of men for place, power, and wealth, commune with himself and nature; and for aught I know ponder upon the cause that determined him to isolate himself from men and society, among whom and in which he was by education and the gifts of nature so well fitted to shine. Outside of business, he seemed not to have or desire any intercourse with his fellowmen. To the spirit of the corps, and the social feeling so characteristic of the legal profession, he seemed an utter stranger. Unlike Napoleon, who it was said "Sat on the throne a sceptered hermit, wrapped in the solitude of his own originality," Taylor wandered among his fellowmen, wrapped in a strange and mysterious singularity, taking no interest in politics, or in other affairs that interest ordinary men, and are matters of conversation and comradeship among them; holding himself aloof from his fellows, and communicating with others only in matters of business, in which he was concerned.

The man and his conduct seemed an enigma—a strange mystery. Doubtless there was a cause for all of this strangeness. It may have been some great wrong done him, some great disappointment that had overtaken him, or some great sorrow that had seized him for its own, penetrating the innermost recesses of his soul, and strangling in him the sense of human fellowship, and changing the whole nature of the man. *Quien Sabe?* What the trouble was, we shall perhaps never know. For a man like him, who appeared to have all of the gifts that would enable him to enjoy the fellowship of his kind, the cause that wrought such a change must have been extraordinary.

Taylor was about six feet high, slender, well proportioned, and straight as an arrow. He had an eagle eye, a kind and pleasant face, and a graceful carriage. His dress was not elegant, but always

decent. From his language, which was chaste and proper, he must have been a man of finished education. He was a speaker of wonderful eloquence, a finished elocutionist—inflections, gestures, all were perfect. His flow of language was accompanied by no effort. He never hesitated for a word; and every word was suited to the purpose he had in view, and was calculated to make his expression plain, strong, and distinct, in the comprehension of his every hearer. In fact, such was his command of language, that one describing it likened it to the impetuous flow of a swollen mountain stream.

Taylor was well versed in the elements of the law. He delighted in, and was especially successful in, criminal cases. His eloquence as an advocate contributed much to his success in this branch of the law. He was deeply versed in all the intricacies of human nature, and by the witchery of his eloquence, he could play upon the fountains of sentiment and feeling, and sway and bend them to his will, as the ripening corn is swayed and bent by the summer breeze.

The susceptibility of jurors, especially of Texas jurors, to the witchery of the eloquent lawyer has no doubt freed many a guilty man; and such result is but the tribute paid by human emotion to the gift of eloquence. Who shall say 'tis wrong? The emotions, sympathies, sentiment, and feeling possessed by man are among the characteristics that elevate him above the brute. The people of Texas, especially the early pioneers, dearly loved and admired the eloquent lawyer. The greatest lawyer, in their estimation, was the most eloquent one. With them eloquence was the open *sesame* to political advancement. In a criminal trial, the greatest interest of the case centered in the "pleading." They could not afford to miss hearing the lawyers "plead."

From 1852 up to the breaking out of the Civil War I occasionally met Wandering John at the courts, or heard of him passing through the country. His principal range of travel, so far as I know, was in the counties of Cherokee, Anderson, Houston, Leon, Madison, Robertson, Limestone, and Freestone. Some time before the commencement of the war he located a son of his on Clear creek, in Leon county, and commenced the erection of a saw mill on the creek. I think his mill never made a foot of lumber, for the reason that he never completed it. The location of this mill was in a wild spot, in or near the edge of the bottom of the Navasota river, just above the junction of the creek with the river. The seclusion

of the place seemed to suit Taylor, and he visited it quite often, spending considerable time there. I met him there once. The mill, like its builder, has long since disappeared, leaving no trace that it ever was, except a vague tradition about it among the old settlers in that vicinity. It was the rumor in the neighborhood of the saw mill, while it was being built, that Taylor lived in a house in Cherokee county of curious build and shape something on the style of a fort or prison, and into which visitors were not received. Being a strange man, strange stories grew up about him.

I have no knowledge of his antecedents. I never found anyone who professed to know anything of his early history. I do not know where he was born, nor where he came from to Texas, nor when. I have no recollection of seeing or hearing of Wandering John after the close of the Civil War. I do not know when or where he died. He disappeared and was not leaving no trace behind, so far as I know. His life, as well as his exit and entrance, seemed to be a mystery. Many of the old men living in his itinerating range knew Wandering John, and the children of these old settlers have a tradition of him, his led horses, and his packs; and that in bad weather he would ask permission to put up and sleep in the barn, crib, or some outhouse.

I never knew him to put up at a hotel more than once. When night came on, John and myself were assigned to the same room, and the same bed, as was often the case in those early days during the crowded court time. After we had retired to bed, the writer's position soon became unpleasant, on account of the assault of those bugs, in the defence of the life of one of which, it is said, Prentiss made the most eloquent of his many eloquent speeches. On account of the unpleasantness, I got out of bed, took my blanket and spread it on the floor, and slept there the remainder of the night. John seemed undisturbed in his position in the bed, and slept soundly. While he was dressing in the morning, the writer, from his place on the floor, saw two very large bugs, so full that they fairly glistened, creep into John's pants pocket, as much as to say, "Strange as you are, we like you, and we intend to keep you company."

Endowed with an unusual intellect and the gift of eloquence, this strange man might have been a man of mark, a leader among his fellows, and have written his name high up on the scroll of fame; yet as it was his talents, like the fleeting meteor, were wasted and

left no mark, and he is now remembered only as Wandering John Taylor with the packs and led horses. With all of his cynicism, his misanthrophy, and disgust of humanity, he had gifts and talents that deserve a better fate than to drop into the grave of utter and absolute forgetfulness. To prevent this utter forgetfulness from soon overtaking his memory is the object of this writing; and, if possible, to induce someone who knew this strange man and his life better than the writer, to give it to the public. His history, could it be fully known, must be of a deep and tragic interest; for in point of intellect and eloquence he was so far above the common herd that there must have been at the foundation of his misanthrophy and strangeness of habit no common or ordinary cause.

The writer feels sure that Judge John H. Reagan knows much about the history of this strange and extraordinary man.



## BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

The leading articles in the American Historical Review for October are: *The Ballot and Other Forms of Voting in the Italian Communes*, by Arthur M. Wolfson; *Maryland's Adoption of the Federal Constitution, I*, by Bernard C. Steiner; *Contemporary Opinion of the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions, I*, by Frank M. Anderson; and *The Unit Rule in National Nominating Conventions*, by Carl Becker. The documents published in the number are: *Accounts of Star Chamber Dinners, 1594*; and Letters of Bancroft and Buchanan on the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, 1849, 1850. Many students will be thankful especially for Mr. Steiner's article, which adds materially to what has been generally available in connection with the subject thereof.

*The Laws of Texas.* Compiled and arranged by H. P. N. Gammel, of Austin. With an introduction by C. W. Raines. Austin: The Gammel Book Company. Vol. VII, pp. 1532.

Volume 7 of Gammel's Reprint of the Laws of Texas contains the general and special laws of the adjourned sessions of the legislature in 1871, the constitution of 1869 (or 1870), and the general and special laws of 1873.

The twelfth legislature concluded its third session on December 2, 1871. During the two years of its existence it had been in session three hundred and thirty-six days. Nineteen hundred pages of legislation attest its industry or its indifference. Probably the character rather than the volume of its labor should furnish the measure of its merits, and by such a standard there is no difficulty in concurring in the adverse judgment then reached by an impatient public. The frequent, lengthy and expensive sessions of this body are doubtless responsible for the existing constitutional provisions which limit the session of the legislature and the emoluments of its members.

The last of the sessions of the twelfth legislature was like unto its predecessors. It was characterized by an excessive liberality in the disbursement of public funds. Its generosity to promoters of

internal improvement enterprises warranted the suggestion that the great corporations which were legislated into being recognized in a practical way the principles of reciprocity. The veto power of Governor Davis was wielded as at the former session. Many a raid upon the treasury he checked, many a mortgage upon posterity he prevented. At the conclusion of his political career he was execrated by a majority of the people of his State. His name was coupled with that which was odious in politics. But history will have to recognize him as one of the greatest benefactors of the State. At a time when moral ties were loose, when crimes were unpunished, when corruption did not affect one's political standing, when it was not accounted evil to steal from a people who had been overcome, he stood between Texas and her despoilers. Against the pressure of partisanship, against the power of money, against the insidious forces of flattery and ambition, he stood for the protection of a people by whom he was hated. That he directly saved the people many millions of dollars is easily demonstrable: it is doubtless the case that to him is due the fact that Texas has not been compelled to face, as other Southern States, the issue of repudiation.

The "reconstruction" constitution which next appears in this volume declares against the "heresies of nullification and secession," recognizes suffrage without reference to "race, color or previous condition," provides for compulsory education, recasts the judicial system, inhibits land grants except to actual settlers, provides for a bureau of immigration, fixes the status of legislation during the war, and of debts contracted during that period.

The session, in 1873, of the thirteenth legislature passed a number of important measures, few, however, of present public interest. An act repealing the law establishing the obnoxious State police was passed over the Governor's veto. An act recasting the school laws was likewise passed over his veto—an amply justified veto. The administration of this law was doubtless the cause for the action of the constitutional convention of 1875, in destroying the office of Superintendent of Public Instruction.

The time of the session was largely spent in special legislation, eight hundred and thirty-two pages of these acts having passed into law, notwithstanding the vigorous exercise by the Governor of the veto power. Nearly two hundred charters were granted, among them thirty or forty railroad charters. Each of these railroad char-

ters, so far as I have examined, provided for a land grant. The constitution had been changed to authorize such grants. The policy suspended for a while and thus entered into again was continued until, within less than a decade, the public domain was absorbed. But a great school fund had been provided and some thousands of miles of railroad had been added to the wealth-producing agencies of the State.

R. L. BATTS.

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*Batts' Annotated Revised Civil Statutes of Texas.* By R. L. Batts, Professor of Law, University of Texas. Vol. II. Austin, Texas: Eugene Von Boeckmann Publishing Company.

The younger generation of lawyers have heard from Nestors of the bar of the times when a district judge would convene his court in the shade of an oak tree, the sheriff tie his prisoner to a sapling, and the best equipped practitioner pull copies of Blackstone, the constitution and the acts of the legislature from one side of a pair of saddle bags balanced on the other with a black bottle and plug of tobacco; those were days when there was little written law and few reported cases in Texas, when a man's hat covered his library, and men like Hemphill, Moore and Roberts decided cases on broad general principles, establishing instead of following precedents. Those times encouraged, and in fact demanded, original thought and produced great lawyers and judges, and it could well be said of many a one that he carried the law of the land in his head.

Whatever may be said of the advantages or disadvantages of the new order as compared with the old, there can be no question as to the temerity of the modern Texas lawyer who ventures into an intricate damage suit relying solely on the general proposition that a man "must so use his own as not to injure the rights of others," or embarks on the shoreless sea of equity with "a man must come into court with clean hands" as his only chart.

On the presentation of a given state of facts for his consideration a lawyer's mind naturally turns to some general proposition of law which seems decisive of the controversy, but before he can advise or act in the premises he must see if the general rule has been varied by statute law and to what extent it has been limited or explained by the decisions of our numerous appellate courts; the man who enables the lawyer to do this with the greatest ease and accuracy is a benefactor to the profession.

The second volume of Annotated Civil Statutes of Texas, compiled by Hon. R. L. Batts, Professor of Law in the State University, has been published, and completes what is unquestionably the most perfect and most perfectly arranged digest of laws and decisions now offered to the people of Texas.

The entire work contains 2710 pages and there are 15,077 notes, the latter embracing, in addition to all reported Texas decisions, and those of the United States courts bearing on Texas statutes, complete copies of many repealed statutes and much historical data. It is impossible to review a work of this size and give any clear idea of its scope within the limits of a notice of this kind, but some idea of its magnitude and the amount of labor required to complete it may be gathered from a reference to one or two topics.

The notes on Article 2396 of the Revised Statutes of Texas, relating to "Homestead" cover twenty-six pages of fine printed matter (pp. 64 to 90, Vol. II) ; the article defining a homestead as amended by Act of April 26, 1897, is first given ; next comes note (8620) stating when the above mentioned amendment took effect, and giving its language, together with the title and enacting clause : then follows the first homestead law of Texas, enacted by the legislature on January 26, 1839, with synopsis of decisions construing it ; next is the constitutional provision of 1845, the Act of February 2, 1860, the constitutional provisions of 1861 and 1866, the Act of November 10, 1866, the constitutional provision of 1869, the Act of 1870, and the constitutional provision of 1876, in the order named, each followed by notes of decisions construing it. After all legislation upon the topic has thus been treated in historical sequence the decisions on the general subject are exhaustively taken up and grouped under the following heads: Forced Sale, Liens, Incumbrances Existing at or Before Acquisition, Right of Husband to Adjust Incumbrances, Statutory Liens, Mortgages and Pretended Sales, Sales of Homestead by Husband and Wife, Sale by Husband, Sale by Wife, Sale by Unmarried Head of Family, Sale by Surviving Husband or Wife, Executory Sales, Proceeds of Sale, The Family, The Homestead Defined, Head of Family May Select, Intent, Use, Occupancy, When Homestead Right Attaches, Intent and Preparation to Use, Enlargement of Homesteads, Abandonment, Limitation as to Value and Amount, The Rural Homestead, Urban Homestead, Urban Place of Business, Combination of Rural and

Urban Homestead, Change of Rural to Urban Homestead, Property in Which Homestead May Exist, Homestead in Separate or Community Property, In Partnership Property, Homestead in Joint Estate, Declaration Against Homestead Rights, Law of Time of Contract Applicable, Limitation Against Homestead Right, Homestead in Case of Separation, Homestead in Case of Divorce, Homestead Rights of Non-Residents, Rights of Heirs in Homestead, Rights of Creditors in Homestead, Effect of Homestead Right on Judgment for Land, Election by Widow, and Suit by Wife for Homestead.

The topic of "Husband and Wife" covers fifty-seven pages (pp. 251 to 307, Vol. II): besides the articles of the present Revised Statutes on the subject with copious notes showing the decisions relating thereto, the author gives the various laws, commencing with the ordinance of January 22, 1836, defining those empowered to celebrate the rights of matrimony: in chapter three (p. 259) he takes up the subject of "Rights of Married Women," giving in full the Acts of January 26, 1839, and January 20, 1840, Sec. 19, Art. VII, of the Constitution of 1845, the Act of March 13, 1848, Sec. 14, Art. XII, of the Constitution of 1869, and Sec. 15, Art. XVI, of the Constitution of 1876, thus giving in full all legislation on these subjects.

The above illustrations, taken at random, give some idea of the thoroughness of the work. The best digest is, however, of little value unless accompanied by an accurate index, and the author has been peculiarly successful in subdividing his topics and arranging such an index: take the "Estate of Decedents," for instance, on pp. 1366 to 1375, and the index covers nine pages and contains a reference to practically every point covered by legislation or decision upon that subject.

Such a work is valuable, not only to lawyers, but to merchants, bankers, and contractors and all men who have an interest in knowing what the law is.

The fact that the mechanical part of the book has been done by a Texas firm, Eugene Von Boeckmann Publishing Company, is worthy of note; there are a number of slight errors incidental to a work of such magnitude, but, considering the fact that this is a first edition, author and publisher are to be congratulated upon the success of the enterprise.

T. W. GREGORY.

## NOTES AND FRAGMENTS.

Political Science Quarterly for December has a review of Hamilton's Colonial Mobile by Mr. Bugbee.

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Mr. W. F. McCaleb, fellow in history at the University of Chicago for the third year, is busy writing a book in which he hopes to throw new light on that still obscure and perplexing episode, the Burr Conspiracy.

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Mr. Eugene C. Barker has been appointed tutor in history in the University and Mr. E. W. Winkler fellow. The appointments are both well deserved. Mr. Barker is now doing special work on the Campaign of 1836, and Mr. Winkler is engaged on the history of the Cherokee Indians of Texas.

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Mr. W. R. Smith, who went from the University of Texas to Columbia on a fellowship in history at the beginning of the session 1898-1899, is still at the latter. He is making a special study of the colonial history of South Carolina, and has spent several months in the cities of Columbia and Charleston gathering materials for a thesis.

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Mr. William Corner, who for two years was one of the vice-presidents of the Association, and who deserves no little of the credit for its success, is lecturing in England on American and Mexican Indians. His lecture has been given before the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, Hanover Square, London, and the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, Cambridge, and has been well received. Mr. Corner is pleasantly remembered by those with whom he has worked in the interests of historical science in Texas, and their good wishes follow him.

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The diary of Moses Austin giving an account of his trip from

Virginia to Louisiana (Missouri) in the winter of 1796-7 is to appear in the April number of the *American Historical Review*. It contains much interesting information relative to the condition of the country he traversed. The Editorial Board of the *Review* has agreed to send reprints to all members of the Association whose names were on the roll when the agreement to publish the diary in the *Review* was made. This will include four hundred and fifty of the older members. Others will doubtless be able to get the separates at a moderate price by ordering them from the *Review* in sufficient time.

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THE MORTON FAMILY.—Morton, whose name was probably William, sailed for Texas from Mobile with his family in 1822, in his own schooner; the vessel was wrecked on Galveston Island, but no one was lost; in his search for help, Morton encountered a party of the Lively immigrants at the mouth of the Brazos and with their help transferred his family and goods to the "falls" of the Brazos where he made a crop.<sup>1</sup> Lewis' *Journal* mentions the wife of Morton, a step-daughter Miss Jane Edwards, a son "Tilly" about seventeen years old, and three daughters of thirteen, eleven, and seven or eight, respectively. Lewis thinks the son died that fall.<sup>2</sup> Morton was a brick-maker and brick layer by occupation.<sup>3</sup>

Mrs. Dilue Harris, of Columbus, adds the following notes to the above: "In 1834 two or three of the Morton family lived on the east side of the Brazos opposite where the town of Richmond now stands. Mrs. Morton and two sons then lived at the Morton Ferry. The place was at that time called Fort Bend. Mr. Morton was drowned in 1833, during the overflow of the Brazos. One son, John Morton, married a Miss Shipman near the home of my father (Dr. P. W. Rose) in 1836. One of the sons died in 1839; the other was killed in Richmond in 1842 or 1843. Neither left any heirs. The mother died about this time. One daughter married a Mr. Little during the 20's and lived near my father's. Two sons of this daughter are now living in Colorado County."

<sup>1</sup>Lewis' *Journal*, *Quarterly of the Texas Historical Association*, October, 1899, pp. 94-99.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

When did the Comanches make their first raids upon the Mexican settlers of Texas, from what quarter did they begin, and against what district were they directed?

E. W. WINKLER.



## AFFAIRS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

The midwinter meeting for the year 1899-1900 is to be held, on the invitation of President Pritchett of the Sam Houston Normal, at Huntsville, January 9th. The program has been sent to the members, and an account of the proceedings will appear in the April Quarterly.

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The promised Indexes for Volumes I and II of the Quarterly and the inadvertently omitted title page and table for Volume II are printed with this number. The inconvenience of the delay to those who have had the volumes bound as soon as they were complete is much regretted, but it was unavoidable.

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The success of the Association thus far has been very gratifying to those who have a real interest in its work. A little more help from these will assure its permanence. Read carefully the circulars that have just been sent to the members, especially that asking for subscriptions to an endowment fund, and see if you cannot do something in response.

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Among the more important gifts lately made to the library of the Association are a collection of public documents from Judge J. P. Richardson, of Austin; two handsomely printed and scholarly monographs, the one on Quivira and the other on Harahey, from the author, J. V. Brower, Esq., of St. Paul, Minnesota; and a MS. including copies of interesting matter relating mainly to the Texas career of Capt. John Sowers Brooks, one of the victims of the Goliad massacre, from Gen. John E. Roller, of Harrisonburg, Virginia. Besides these gifts that are received from time to time, the exchange list of the Quarterly is constantly bringing in valuable accessions.



# THE QUARTERLY

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## ROUTE OF CABEZA DE VACA.

BETHEL COOPWOOD.

### *Part III A<sup>1</sup>.*

In this part it is the purpose to present:

First, the facts, as far as ascertained, showing how far south the buffalo came down to the Gulf coast as early as 1536, and how the people where Galeana is now, those of Tanzocob, and those along the lower Bagres might then have had their skins.

Second, the facts showing that Cabeza de Vaca met the first Christians in Jalisco, and that his statement that he went out to Culiacan was made under influences after he got to Mexico.

Third, the facts deemed sufficient to show that the statements made by Castañeda and Jaramillo as to Cabeza de Vaca and his comrades going through the *barranca* or ravine are unreasonable and not to be credited.

It being believed that the best guide in searching for the truth of

<sup>1</sup>When this paper was accepted for the QUARTERLY, it was intended that the whole of Part III should appear in this number; but since then Judge Coopwood has so extended its limits by revision that it has grown too long for a single issue.—EDITOR QUARTERLY.

a matter resting upon statements made, is that rule requiring a comparison of the facts stated with each other and with natural and known historical facts, in order to harmonize the whole as far as may be consistent, and to reject the parts contradictory to or in conflict with such known natural and historical truths, it was the aim of the preceding parts of this paper to follow such rule; and the reasons for adopting some of the statements made by Cabeza de Vaca and rejecting others will be shown in this part, to enable the reader to pass upon the route adopted. And that part of it presented in the first part being deemed sufficiently explained therein, nothing further than such corroboration as it may naturally receive from what may be said here as to the route from Nogales, or the point on the map marked G, forward to Rio Verde in Jalisco will be added to it.

Cabeza de Vaca mentions three places at which he says they gave him buffalo robes. These places will mark that part of the route along which these skins are claimed to have been possessed by the Indians. The first is the village where they ate the *piñones*, the second that where they called the people "*los de las Vacas*," and the third along the route they traveled up the fourth large river before crossing it; and, as these have been assumed to be the present sites of Galeana and Ciudad de Valles, and that part of Rio Bagres below the mouth of Rio Verde, the question here is how those skins may have been there when Cabeza de Vaca passed through the country in 1536. In answering it the most difficult task, perhaps, will be to show how far the buffalo then ranged southward along the Gulf coast; and the facts collected by a very limited research must suffice for the present purpose, the reader being left to collate such further data on the subject as may be convenient to him, and then reason to his own conclusion.

The earliest written statement on this subject is that of Cabeza de Vaca, which is not a little obscure as to where he saw the buffalo herds the three times he mentions them. This statement comes after the account of his meeting with the other two Spaniards and the negro, and going with them to where they ate the nuts, and of his being given as a slave to the one-eyed Mariame Indian, while Castillo remained with the Iguaces.<sup>1a</sup> He adds it after accounting for Cas-

<sup>1a</sup>Naufragios, Cap. XVII.

tillo and Esquivel going to those Iguaces in on the mainland, leaving it uncertain whether he actually saw the animals or was relating what was told him by his companions as to their seeing them before meeting him. In either case, however, he leaves the impression that the buffaloes were seen while whoever saw them was with the Iguaces, who, according to the position he assigns them,<sup>2</sup> must have been between the Bravo and the Gulf coast further south than where the town of Corpus Christi is now situated. He says: "The cows reach here, and I have seen them three times and eaten of their meat \* \* \*. They come from toward the north forward through the country to the coast of Florida, and spread themselves all over the land more than four hundred leagues; and on all this road along the valleys through which they come, the people dwelling along there descend and live upon them; and they take inland many skins."<sup>3</sup>

While he does not clearly express whether the cows came from some place four hundred leagues north of the coast or spread out such distance over the land along it, yet as he was treating of the coast, it may be presumed he meant the latter, which is borne out by the skins being taken inland, or in a direction from the Gulf.

Of course he meant the coast of Florida as then known, and not as shown on modern maps; for there seems to be a want of evidence to show that the cows ever came down to the Gulf coast at any point east of the mouth of Trinity river.<sup>4</sup> This seems to require something to show what he meant by the coast of Florida.

The Florida assigned to Pánfilo de Narvaez by Charles V. comprised all the provinces on the main from Rio de las Palmas to the cape of Florida.<sup>5</sup> Don Luis de Onís says, in the negotiations preceding the treaty of 1819: "Under the name of Florida was then embraced all the country from the Rio de las Palmas, which is the confine of Pánuco, to the 48th degree, an extension of more than 600

<sup>2</sup>Naufragios, Cap. XVIII.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>The writer has met with no written account or tradition of these herds going through the pine forests to that part of the Gulf coast.

<sup>5</sup>Naufragios, Cap. I.

leagues, crossing the Mississippi.”<sup>6</sup> The first part of Chapter I. of the *Naufraios* shows Cabeza de Vaca was aware of the Rio de las Palmas being the boundary between the province of Pánuco and Florida; and if he had seen Pineda’s map or chart of the Gulf coast, he also knew that it was only one hundred leagues from such boundary to Espiritu Santo Bay. So it may be presumed he referred to that part of the coast from such boundary as far north and east as the cows came down to it, applying to it his usual skill in exaggerating distance. He had traveled along that coast forty or fifty leagues while peddling, and knew the Indians inland, and they may have told him how far the cows went south of their territory, possibly making it far enough to reach Rio de las Palmas; or he might have received such information from the light colored Indians, those at the foot of the mountain where he spent two nights, or those of the twenty houses he found the day he left the latter place.

The next written statement in regard to the range of the buffalo herds known to the writer is that found in a manuscript, written at Saltillo in 1792, by the Bachelor Don Pedro Fuentes, then vicar and ecclesiastical judge of that place. In speaking of the Chichimeca nations, he says:

“At a little more than the middle of the sixteenth century of the Christian era and thirty years or more after the Mexican conquest, the famous General Don Francisco de Urdiñola, the elder, began to make war upon this Chichimeca nation, and without ever being repulsed by it, defeated it many times to the north, south, and west, founding all the towns in those directions. On being driven to this country, it subsisted upon the abundant game of buffalo, deer, turkeys, and other animals found in these lands, and on which many of the nations north of here support themselves at the present day, though they are very numerous \* \* \*.

“This nation, what of it had remained after these past battles, taking refuge in this district of mountain ranges, deemed itself un-

<sup>6</sup>Memoir of the negotiations between Spain and the United States of America leading to the treaty of 1819, published in Madrid in 1820, and reprinted in Mexico in 1826.

conquerable; but the same general attacking it anew, destroyed it almost entirely.”<sup>7</sup>

From this it may be inferred that the buffalo was abundant around where Saltillo and Monterey now are in 1556 to 1560, and may have gone along the plain north of Monterey, Montemorelos, Linares, Burgos, and San Carlos to the Gulf coast near the Soto la Marina river, formerly called Rio de las Palmas,<sup>8</sup> which is about thirty leagues north of the Pánuco river<sup>9</sup> and not fifty leagues from Tancocob, now Ciudad de Valles; and the people of the latter and Hualahuises and Galeana may have hunted and killed the buffalo along there.

Don Diego Gonzales Herrera, who was born at Palafox, and, when that place was destroyed by Indians, taken to Laredo and reared there and at Estacas, six leagues below there, says:

“From ten years of age I began to go on the buffalo hunts with the men of Laredo to the north and northeast of there as far as the Nueces river. The buffalo then came below Palafox, and along in front of Laredo, and continued to do so at times till 1840. In my youth the old men of Laredo often told of a cold winter in which the buffalo came so near Laredo that some of them ran into the town, and when they went down southeast of there to the coast. Having joined a cavalry company in the Mexican service at Laredo, in 1834, I frequently went as far south as Burgos and San Carlos, where the old men had a tradition of buffalo herds having gone over the plain

<sup>7</sup>See Collection of Notes and Documents for the History of the State of Nuevo Leon, by Eleuterio Gonzales, Professor of History in the Civil College of Monterey, Chap. I.

<sup>8</sup>In 1523, the expedition which Garay commanded in person arrived at the Barra of Palmas, which was afterward called Santander and is now called Soto la Marina. Prieto: *Historia, Geografia, y Estadística del Estado de Tamaulipas*, p. 14.

<sup>9</sup>Francisco Gomara says the river of Palmas is thirty leagues above Pánuco towards the north. *Historia de las Indias*, Tit. Rio de Palmas. And he says: “From Pescadores, which is 28° 30' N., it is one hundred leagues to Rio de las Palmas, near which the tropic of Cancer passes. From the Rio de las Palmas to the river of Pánuco it is more than thirty leagues.” *Ibid.* Tit. El Sitio de las Indias. All well informed Mexicans know Rio de Soto la Marina is identical with the Rio de las Palmas of the Spaniards, which formed the northern limit of the province of Pánuco.

west of Pamoranes mountain to la Laja, now Mendez, and there crossing the Rio Conchas, passing on to the foot of the Sierra de San Carlos. I also knew the Lipan Indians at Estacas below Laredo till as late as 1840. They killed many buffalo and brought the meat and skins to that place and to Laredo to barter to the Mexicans; and I remember seeing a pet buffalo cow their chief, Castro, had trained to follow his saddle animal." He was as clear and bright in mind and memory as are ordinary men at fifty years of age when he made this statement to the writer in presence of his family and Don Bernardo Mendiola, in Nuevo Laredo, on the 28th of November, 1899.

There is a well defined tradition among the Chapa family of Matamoros, that about 1808 the buffalo went down south of that place, and one of them came into the lands of the Chapa *rancho* to near a lake about eight leagues southeast of that place and was there found by Don Manuel Lopez de Chapa, and killed near that lake, and the place is still called El Cíbolo on account of the occurrence.<sup>10</sup> Matamoros was not then established, the place being called El Refugio. It was declared a port of entry on the 28th of January, 1823, under the name of Matamoros.

To avoid confusion, it is proper to bear in mind the Spanish names for the buffalo, used by different writers, and the orthography of these names as written may also serve a purpose.

Cabeza de Vaca called them *vacas* (cows), without mention of any other name; and Francisco Lopez de Gomara, who wrote between 1540 and 1553, publishing at the latter date, tells of Fray Marcos de Niza's traveling three hundred leagues beyond Culiacan in 1538, and returning with his tales of the wonders of seven cities of Síbolo, and saying that there was no cape to that land, but that the farther it extended to the west the more densely populated and richer in gold, turkois, and wool-bearing herds it was;<sup>11</sup> but he does not apply this name *síbolo* to the wooly cows. In fact such name was not applied to the wild cows until a much later date; and when it did come into use, the writers were not agreed as to its orthography. The first

<sup>10</sup>One Chapa, now living in Laredo, but of that same family, and Don Victoriano Chapa, now living in Live Oak county, at the ripe age of ninety years, uncle of the first, and who was captured by the Comanches in 1818 and kept till 1829, both tell this tradition.

<sup>11</sup>Historia de las Indias, Tit. Síbolo.



syllable was spelled *tzi*, *zi*, *si*, and *ci*, but in each instance the name was used to designate the buffalo. Solis called the buffalo bull found in Moctezuma's garden, "el Torro Mexicano" (the Mexican bull), but describes it so it cannot be mistaken. So this name *vacas* or *cibolos* always means the same wild cows, when applied to the animals, they having been at a place so named, or a tribe so named having some connection with them; as when Cabeza de Vaca called the people of a town "*los de las Vacas*," or when the earliest priests called a tribe *Zibolos*, or when Fray Fuentes called the animals *cibolos*, in speaking of the game eaten by the Chichimecas.

The name of the tribe *Zibolos* is so written in Mota Padilla's History, as well as in volume XXXI., folio 208, of the *Archivo General de la Nacion* at Mexico, and Prieto calls the buffalo skins "*pielas de cibolos*," while Tello, in speaking of Fray Niza's imaginary cities, writes it *Tzibolo*. In 1750 José Vasquez Borrego still called them *vacas*, but *cibolo* was used by Fray Fuentes in his manuscript of 1792, and he is followed by most of those writing the name at a later date. And in the *Diccionario Castellano*, *cibolo* is defined "*toro de Mejico ó mejicano*," following Solis.

Now when either of these names is used by a Spanish writer we understand the buffalo is meant, and confusion is avoided.

It seems the buffalo herds retired northward as the Spanish settlements encroached upon their range, and finally they have become almost extinct. Indeed, it is said the only wild herds known to exist are about forty head in Sierra del Carmen in the northern part of Coahuila and about the same number in Lost Park, Colorado, the latter being protected by law from destruction by hunters.<sup>12</sup>

Prieto tells of the Spaniards going on from Nuevo Leon into the department of Coahuila to trade with the Indians, exchanging cotton and woolen textures for skins of *sibolos*, deer, and other animals, of which they killed a great many;<sup>13</sup> this being before the foundation of Monclova and probably before Martin Zavala's appointment as governor in 1625, but over eighty years after Cabeza de Vaca passed through the country, José Vasquez Borrego complains of the officers in command of places in Coahuila in 1750 arming their soldiers with

<sup>12</sup>This information as to the latter herd was given by C. E. Tillotson, of Manitou, Col.

<sup>13</sup>Historia, etc., p. 81.

kettles, loading their pack animals with salt, and going out to kill the cows, try out their tallow, dry their meat, and dress their skins, and thereby failing to afford proper protection to the new settlers. He makes this complaint in an application to Escandon for a grant of land on the left margin of the Bravo below where Laredo now stands, and dated in 1750, a *testimonio* of which is found in the *expediente* of the title in the Spanish archives of Laredo, Texas. And among the places whose commandants so did is named la Punta, now Lampazos, south of the Salado river.

As late as 1847, buffalo were killed in abundance along the foot of Sierra del Carmen and on the plains and in the Sierra del Cibolo east of it in Coahuila, and before that as far south as the Llano de San José and the Rio Sabinas; and the skulls and other bones of the animals were still seen on that plain as late as 1848. Then it was commonly understood in Santa Rosa, now Villa de Musquiz, that the hunters of that place had often killed buffalo along there in winter for many years, and had named for them places where they were killed; as Sierras del Cibolo, Puente del Cibolo, Arroyo del Cibolo, etc. These places are mentioned by Velasco in speaking of the mountains of Coahuila, as "las Sierras del Cibolo, which form irregular groups from the Rio Grande to Puente de Riesgo, north of the Sierra del Burro, and in it is the great gap (*quiebra*) called Puente del Cibolo, where the *arroyo* of the same name passes."<sup>14</sup> And among the wild animals of Coahuila he mentions the *cibolo*.<sup>15</sup>

Don Anastacio Castro, now of Laredo, but who was reared at Morelos, near Zaragoza, west of Eagle Pass, says that in 1858 the buffalo came so near Zaragoza that a buffalo bull came into the edge of the town with the gentle cattle and was there killed; and that he was there and saw it. Ten years before that the writer spent some time there, and went on scouts and in pursuit of Indians with Captain Patiña and the men of Morelos and Zaragoza, and it was a common thing to hear the older ones tell how they had gone out there to kill buffalo in winter.

Don Manuel Gonxales, grandfather of Hijinio Garcia, of Laredo, was born about 1780, and lived in Laredo till he died, about the be-

<sup>14</sup>Velasco: *Geografia y Estadística*, Coahuila, p. 25.

<sup>15</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 36.

ginning of the Civil War. He often told the incidents of his buffalo hunts above Laredo and on the Nueces river as low down as the mouth of the Frio river, till as late as 1840. There is a creek west of the Frio still called Cíbolo creek, as it is said, because the people of the Rio Grande, and the Carrizo Indians formerly camped on it when hunting and killing buffalo.

Captain Refugio Benavides, who recently died at Laredo, where he lived during his eventful and useful life, often related to the writer the interesting incidents of buffalo hunts he went on in his youth along the Nueces river, and he also said he had seen the Lipan chief's pet buffalo cow following his saddle mule, when those Indians had their camp at Las Estacas.

Michael Whelan, who settled at the mission of Refugio in 1832, frequently told of his killing buffalo in that section and between there and San Patricio, and he said that he had killed them along the Nueces river up as far as the mouth of the Frio as late as 1842.<sup>16</sup>

Many years ago the Lipan Indians were accustomed to camp on the Nueces river near where San Patricio is now, to hunt and kill buffalo in that region during the winter season; and when the Mexican soldiers under Captain Enrique Villareal made their camp there, these Indians congregated round it, and it was finally named by Colonel Terán, Lipantitlan,<sup>17</sup> meaning Lipan land.

There is a tradition of the buffalo going to near the mouth of the Arroyo Colorado in large herds after the foundation of Reynos, which dates from March 14, 1749.

So for more than two hundred years after Cabeza de Vaca passed through the country the buffalo herds continued to pass down to the coast country round where Matamoras now is, and for three hundred years were still found along the Nueces and as low down the Bravo as in front of Laredo; and it was over two hundred years after he passed through the country that José Vasquez Borrego complained of the officers of Lampazos and other places in middle Coahuila for going on the buffalo hunts along there. Then is it not fair to pre-

<sup>16</sup>This information was given at Corpus Christi on September 23, 1899, by Pat Whelan, a relative of Michael Whelan.

<sup>17</sup>These facts were stated by José Maria Villareal, son of the Captain, at Matamoras in 1887, he having been at Lipantitlan with his father from 1828 to 1835.

sume that they went as far south as the San Carlos mountains, and even to Rio de las Palmas prior to 1536?

But if the people of Tanzocob and the lower Bagres did not go to kill the buffalo, there were abundant opportunities for them to have obtained the skins. Their kindred tribes were living, as shown by the manuscript of Fray Fuentes, among the buffalo herds in the vicinity of the present sites of Monterey and Saltillo twenty years after Cabeza de Vaca passed their villages, and must have had such skins to barter to their kindred tribes on visiting them.

Velasco says: "Before the arrival of the Spaniards, and prior to Urdiñola de Ibarra's expedition being sent out in 1556, there roamed over the territory of Nuevo Leon, which then lacked a proper name, nomadic tribes of Indians, some of them having come from Tamaulipas; as the Pames, the Janambres, the Positos, etc., who inhabited the southern part. The Juquiolanes and the Coapoli-quanes lived in the mountains; in the region of Linares, the Hualahuises, the Comepescados and the Cadínias; in that of Montemorelos and Teran, the Borrados and Rayones; in Monterey and its surroundings the Guachichiles, the Aguaseros, and the Malinchenos; in Vallecios, the Ayaguas and the Garzas; in Salinas and Marin, the Cuanales and the Aiguales; around Lampazos and Agualeguas, the tribe de Mal Nombre, the Tobosos from Coahuila and the Alazapas. All these Indians, the major part of them being of the Nahoa family, were docile and lively, and the Spaniards were able to conquer them with facility."<sup>18</sup>

These twenty tribes extended from the Sierra Madre in Nuevo Leon to the Rio Salado and the Bravo, a distance of one hundred and fifty miles, through a country where, according to Fray Fuentes, buffalo abounded as late as 1560. They were of a common family, and, in addition to the particular dialect of each tribe, they had a common tongue which extended from the Bravo to the Bagres and over to the territory of the Tarascos, as will be seen farther on; and it is reasonable that they carried the buffalo skins as far south as they had communication and mutual intercourse with the kindred tribes.

Of the Pames, Janambres, and Hualahuises, Prieto says they

<sup>18</sup>Vol. Nuevo Leon, p. 144.

lived in the cantons of North Veracruz, Sierra Gorda, South Tamaulipas, and a part of Nuevo Leon in the fifteenth century;<sup>19</sup> and this scope of country embraced Tanzocob, the lower Bagres, and even Santa Maria del Rio, which is in the Sierra Gorda range, making a family connection with a Nahoia tongue from the buffalo range north of Galeana to beyond the place where Cabeza de Vaca mentions the last skins of buffalo being given to him. And if the buffalo ranged round the present sites of Saltillo and Monterey in 1556, it is not at all strange that these Indians living there should have killed them and carried their skins to Tanzocob and the Bagres river, and there bartered them to their kindred tribes, or that the latter should have gone up to the region of Linares, Hualahuises, Galeana, and Montemorelos and joined those living there in the buffalo hunts. If the herds ranged down the plain north of Burgos and San Carlos to the coast, it was not over fifty leagues from there to Tanzocob, and the people of this place may have gone up to the north side of Rio de las Palmas to kill them and carry their meat and skins to their villages and homes.

Again Velasco says: "The region at present occupied by the State of Coahuila did not form a part of the ancient Anahuac, but was considered by the Aztecs or Mexicans as the Land of the Chichimecas, or the zone which they considered as inhabited by the barbarous and roving tribes. In fact, there lived in it various nations of the Apaches, Comanches, and Lipans on the margins of the Bravo. At the arrival of the Spaniards there lived in the prairies and on the cordilleras to the west of the Bravo the Toboso Indians, to the north of the Iritiles. The Coahuiltecas lived in the eastern part of the State, as did the Cuachichiles, tribes which have disappeared. As respects the Apaches and Comanches, these have gone to Texas and New Mexico (United States), and if they penetrate Coahuila, it is only to steal cattle or to hunt *cibolos* (buffaloes), the skins of which they highly appreciate."<sup>20</sup>

After filling nearly three pages with names of tribes living in Coahuila, he further says: "In addition to all these tribes which form the Texano-Coahuilteca family, whose tongue is very much like

<sup>19</sup>Historia, etc., p. 8.

<sup>20</sup>Vol. Coahuila, pp. 9-10.

the Mexican, there existed, according to the letter of the viceroy, Conde de Revillagigedo, in reference to the suppressed missions, the tribes of the Babeles, Queiquisales, Pinanacas, Bagnames, Isipopolames, Pies de Venado, Chacapes, Payagues, Gicocoges, Goricas, Bocoras, Escaoas, Cocobiptas, Codames, Tasmamaves, Filifaes, Junaces, Toamares, Bapancorapinacas, Babosarigames, Paseos, Mescales, Xarames, Chacaguales, Hijames, Terocodames, and Gavilanes."

In the History of Mota Padilla there are cited the names of the tribes of the Paepolos, Coaquites, *Zibolos*, Canos, Pachochos, Siexacamas, Siyanguayas, Sandojuanes, *Liguaces*, Pacuazin, Pajalatames, and Carrizos.

In volume XXXI, folio 208, of the *Archivo General*, are cited the tribes of the Negritos, Bocales, Xanambres, Borrados, Guanipas, Pelones, Guisoles, *Hualahuises*, Alasapas, Guazamoros, Yurguimes, Mazames, Quepanos, Coyotes, Iguanes, Zopilotes, *Blancos*, Amilaguas, Quimis, Ayas, Comceabras, and Mesquites.

"Many of these tribes also inhabited the territory of Nuevo Leon."<sup>21</sup>

All these tribes were in or in reach of the buffalo winter range. The *Zibolos* were in the middle part of the State, and must have killed buffalo in that region and had their skins, a circumstance from which the earliest Spaniards called them by the name given to the wild cows. The *Liguaces* were near the Bravo, and probably of the same tribe Cabeza de Vaca called *Iguaces*, in whose territory they saw the cows three times; and, in fact, this tribe may have been distributed on both sides of the Bravo, as the women from the west side had gone over to those on the east side and there told the Spaniards where their houses were, and finally guided them across the river. The Carrizos lived on both sides of the Bravo at places from where Reynosa is now up to near the Pacuache crossing, and even at the place now called Carrizo Springs in Texas. The Borrados and Blancos had homes on the Rio San Juan and in Coahuila and went with the Carrizos; a number of the Borrados having congregated with the Carrizos at Dolores below Laredo in 1750. The Pacuaches had their homes along the Bravo, below where the mission and presidio of San Juan Bautista was afterward established, at which

<sup>21</sup>Velasco: Vol. Coahuila, pp. 15-16.

they were congregated in 1701. They were buffalo hunters and followed the herds to the east of the Rio Grande, killing them as far as the Nueces river; and the ford at which they crossed the Bravo, twenty-five miles below Eagle Pass, is still known as the Pacuache Crossing. Most, if not all, of these tribes, being of the Nahoa family, had kindred tribes throughout the country from the Bravo to San Carlos mountains and even to the Sierra Gorda and Bagres river.

The Hualahuises, who had their principal home in the region of the present sites of Linares, Hualahuises, Rayones, Galeana, and Iturbide, extended to the northern parts of Coahuila, and had formerly had their homes in the Sierra Gorda and along the Bagres, and were doubtless of the same family tongue of those at Tanzocob. So it is to be presumed that they had mutual visits and exchanges with those of Tanzocob and the Bagres when Cabeza de Vaca went through the country, and may have carried there the very hides he speaks of. If Galeana is where he ate the *piñones* and got the first buffalo robes, he was then in the heart of the Hualahuises country, where, according to Fray Fuentes' manuscript of 1792, the buffalo ranged in the years 1556 to 1560.

When Cortés first went into the City of Mexico, Moctezuma had a buffalo in his garden, and Solís describes it, saying: "Among them [the animals Moctezuma had] the greatest novelty was a Mexican bull, most strangely formed of various animals, wooly, and hump-backed like the camel, close small flank, tail long, the neck shaggy like the lion, cloven foot, and forehead armed like the bull."<sup>22</sup>

There being a live buffalo in the City of Mexico at that time, it is not at all strange that the people of Tanzocob and the lower Bagres should have had the skins of such when Cabeza de Vaca passed there in 1536.

Even if the buffalo herds had never gone as far south as Monterey, or south of the Bravo, the fact of a common family and tongue extending from their range in Coahuila and Texas, where they have been killed within the memory of men yet living, makes it reasonable to suppose their skins were carried to and exchanged in the homes

<sup>22</sup>Historia de la Conquista de Mexico, Lib. III, Cap. XIV.

of those belonging to the Nahoa family as far south as it extended, and certainly to where it met with the Tarascos.

Now, about three hundred and sixty-four years after Cabeza de Vaca traveled over his route from the Isle of Mai-Hado to the Spanish settlements, this presentation of the buffalo question is made to the reader in view of what has been shown in the first and second parts of this paper as to the other signs of identity of his route; leaving the impartial and intelligent to determine, each for himself, whether it is brought within the bounds of reason that the buffalo skins may have been received at Galeana and Tanzocob, and along the lower Bagres as they were going up it towards the sunset to where maize grew all over the land.

It becomes necessary next to show the manifest exaggerations and misrepresentations in Cabeza de Vaca's statements of time, distance, etc.

He says they ran off to the Avavares on the thirteenth of September when the moon was full, and spent the winter with them, which is the only winter mentioned after he went to them till he reached the Spanish settlements, on the first of April following, making six months and twenty days, counting the day he arrived; and whatever length of time beyond this he claims his journey consumed is at least exaggeration.

He says he and his companions spent eight months with the Avavares, and after leaving them spent in traveling and delays about ten days to where they crossed the first great river as wide as that at Sevilla. They were three days going thence to where they saw the light colored Indians and began to see the first mountain, and one more in going to the stream at the foot of it. They remained there one day, and the next went over the plain to the twenty houses. They went thence in three days to where they got the gourds; and from there fifty leagues, say eight days, to where they got the copper hawkbell, and the next day to where they ate the *piñones*. Here they remained at least two days, as Cabeza de Vaca says he cut the arrow head out of the man's breast one day and the next he cut the two stitches, and he was well; and the wound he made on him did not appear to have been more than a mark of the palm of the hand, and



he said he did not feel any pain or aching whatever.<sup>23</sup> They journeyed thence to the second great river coming from the north, say six days, and thence thirty leagues, say five days, and fifty leagues through the rough, dry mountains to the third great river, say eight days. Then they consumed in traveling and waiting for the return of messengers, say eight days, to the village on a stream flowing between the mountains, and one day thence to the town, the people of which they called *los de las Vacas*, where they remained two days. Thence they went seventeen days up the river to where they crossed it, and seventeen more to where they found the gathered maize and called the place the town of hearts. Thus he makes the time from leaving the Avavares to the arrival at Corazones ninety-four days, say three months, which added to the eight months spent with that tribe makes eleven months from the day they got with them on running off from their former Indian masters on the thirteenth of September. This makes it the thirteenth of August they reached Corazones, an exaggeration of four months and thirteen days over the time he says it took to reach the Spanish settlement.

The Spaniards remained at Corazones three days, and went thence to the place where the high water detained them in one day, and remained there fifteen days. From there the story of Cabeza de Vaca is vague, but leaves the inference that he was at least three days in reaching the town on the point of the mountain where he remained one day, and was one day in going to where he met his messengers. Thence to where he found the camping place of Christians he traveled two days; and thence to where he met the four horsemen and was taken to their captain, two days. There the record was made, showing the year, month, and day he had arrived there, and the manner in which he came. That place was thirty leagues from the town of the Christians, which was called Sant Miguel and was of the government of the province called Nueva Galicia.<sup>24</sup> After five days' delay Dorantes and Castillo arrived with the six hundred Indians who were of those people the Christians had made go up on the mountain. They remained here at least one day more, and were carried through the woods two days without water, and next day were

<sup>23</sup>Naufragios, Cap. XXIX.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., Cap. XXXIII.

taken to Culiazan. This makes thirty-five days more, and in all one year and four days from the time they ran off to the Avavares till they reached Culiazan and met Melchor Diaz. So the exaggeration of time spent along the different parts of the route is patent, which shows that Cabeza de Vaca's disposition was not altogether unlike that he attributes to the Indians, when he says: "And they told of us all the others had taught them, and they added much more, because all these Indian people are great friends of novelties, and very untruthful, especially where they pretend some interest."<sup>25</sup>

It is apparent that this count places his arrival at Culiazan, as he calls it, after the middle of September, though after arriving there they went out to bring in Indians and sent off two with one of the gourds he carried in his hands. After seven days they returned and brought with them three lords of those who were in revolt in the mountains, and after a long interview with them let them go with the two captives; and then the Indians of the province, having heard of them, came to see them, and they made them bring the children of the principal lords and baptized them. After a long story of what the captain did, he says they left for Sant Miguel,<sup>26</sup> without stating time or distance in going there; but fifteen days after their arrival, Alcaraz arrived also, and they remained there till the fifteenth day of May. But allowing them ten days at Culiazan, and fifteen at Sant Miguel before Alcaraz arrived would make it the tenth of October. So it seems he did not expect his exaggerations of time would be believed, for he shows that he went thence one hundred leagues to Compostela, where he remained ten days, and thence to Mexico, where he says he arrived on Sunday, one day before the eve of St. James' day,<sup>27</sup> which comes on the twenty-fifth of July.

It will be observed that in this count no time is included for their traveling through the one thousand leagues, or three thousand miles, of settled country where the people planted beans and maize three times in the year,<sup>28</sup> or for making any of the other wild flights, which will be considered in connection with distances stated in the relation.

<sup>25</sup>Naufragios, Cap. XXIX.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., Cap. XXXV, XXXVI.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid., Cap. XXXII.

The first dash at a stretch of distance is the fifty leagues from where they got the gourds to where they were given the copper hawk-bell. It is an indefinite hundred and fifty miles, without a single attempt at description of any place passed while making it, except that it was inland along the skirt of the mountain. All along the same indefinite exaggeration crops out, until they start up the river towards the sunset to go to the land of maize. Then they were necessarily going in a direction from the Gulf coast, and may have started on this stretch at a point forty leagues from it. They made two principal marches of seventeen days each on this westward way,<sup>29</sup> and at six leagues per day would have made two hundred and four leagues, which added to the forty would put them two hundred and forty-four leagues from the Gulf coast at Corazones. But Cabeza de Vaca disregards all this and says: "By information which, with much diligence we were able to understand, from one coast to the other, at the widest, is two hundred leagues;"<sup>30</sup> and if both statements were taken as true, Corazones would have been at least forty-four leagues in the Pacific. Yet he says: "And for this we gave it the name of Corazones, and by it is the entrance to many provinces which are upon the Sea of the South; and if those who may go to seek it should not enter by here, they will be lost."<sup>31</sup> And immediately he says: "We believe that near the coast, along the way we came by those towns, there are more than a thousand leagues of populated country."<sup>32</sup> This, added to the two hundred and forty-four, makes twelve hundred and forty-four leagues, or three thousand seven hundred and thirty-two miles, a distance sufficient to have carried them from the coast of the Mexican Gulf to the middle of the Pacific Ocean.

This is deemed sufficient to show that the statements of distances made by Cabeza de Vaca are not reliable and should not be taken as the basis for conclusions contradicting what is shown by the main natural objects he accounts for on his route.

It remains to be shown that Cabeza de Vaca did not go to Culiacan

<sup>29</sup>Naufragios, Cap. XXXI.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid., Cap. XXXVI.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid., Cap. XXXII.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid.

in Sinaloa, and that he made the statement that he went there, suppressing the real facts as to where he met the first Christians, for a purpose, while in fact he met them in Jalisco. This is a task not hitherto undertaken it is believed, though doubts on the subject seem to have occurred to one modern writer, which were dismissed upon the supposition of the credibility of this part of Cabeza de Vaca's statement, notwithstanding the appearance of some historical impediments.

It is not the present purpose to affirm the credibility of exaggerated and contradictory statements or those irreconcilable with known natural and historical facts, but to sift the statements and arrive at a reasonable conclusion as to the route of Cabeza de Vaca from Mal-Hado to where he actually met the first Christians. In discarding his incredible statements, the real truth contained in his relation is the aim, without entertaining any undue disrespect for the main subject. While the maxim *falsus in uno, falsus in omnibus* may suit the technical purpose of the barrister seeking to discredit the parts of a witness' testimony injurious to his cause, yet in the examination of historical matters that other maxim, *falsa demonstratio non nocet*, should be applied, and the real truth ascertained by excluding exaggerations and misrepresentations alone, for the falsity of their claim to have gone to Culiacan does not negative the fact of these survivors of the Narvaez expedition having gone to the Spanish settlements at some point and thence to the City of Mexico; and the object of this investigation is to ascertain as near as may be possible their actual footsteps in going over the route.

In order to do this, enough will be told of the campaigns made by Nuño de Guzman and his forces from the time he left the City of Mexico in November, 1529, until 1536, to enable the reader to follow the thread of affairs in Nueva Galicia, with such citations of authors as may be deemed proper to afford the means of verifying the important points as they are reached.

There are, of necessity, some questions about the identity of places mentioned, growing out of changes in orthography of the names of both places and things, but these may be referred to those about which there is no question, and thereby reconciled to the main truth.

The preparations made by Guzman included the sending of Pedro Alméndez Chirinos to Zintzontzan and Patzeuaro to bring the Ta-

rasco Indians and their king, Don Francisco Catzoltzin. On the return of this officer, Guzman raised the standard and appointed captains and royal officers and other ministers.<sup>33</sup>

Things being ready, he went out from Mexico at the beginning of the month of November, 1529, and marched to the province of Jilotepec, approaching the province of Michoacan and the river which goes from Toluca, at which he arrived on the day of Concepcion de Nuestra Señora, and discovered a crossing at the town of Conguripo, which he named Nuestra Señora, because of the day when he arrived there. From there he sent a messenger to Captain Chirinos, ordering him to hasten his arrival, and bring all the men he could, both Tarascos and Spaniards, who desired to go on that campaign, and those of Jacona, which belonged to his *encomienda*; and at the end of two days he arrived, accompanied by the king of Michoacan, Don Francisco Catzoltzin, and all his people of war. On the 13th of December a church was erected, and on the 14th they sang the mass of Concepcion; and then Guzman reviewed the army, finding it consisted of two hundred Spanish cavalry and three hundred infantry, ten thousand Mexican Indians and ten thousand of the Tarascos and other nations. Then he appointed anew captains, royal officers, and constables, giving the lead to the principal men, as were Cristóbal de Barrios, caballero of the order of Santiago, and twenty-four of Sevilla; Pedro Almendez Chirinos, factor of Mexico; José de Angulo, Diego Hernandez Proaño, Miguel de Ibarra, Francisco Flores, Juan Villalva, Cristóbal de Tapia, Cristóbal de Oñate, and Juan de Oñate. He appointed Hernan Flores royal ensign, Juan de Oñate and Juan Ojeda royal officers, Juan Sanchez de Olea major constable, and José de Angulo and Cristóbal de Tapia captains. And the army being together, the Captain General, Don Beltran Nuño de Guzman, received from the hands of the captain Chirinos the royal standard, and waved and raised it, taking possession of his conquest, which he called Castilla la Nueva de la gran España. (How it was afterward called Galicia will appear at the proper time.)<sup>34</sup>

<sup>33</sup>Tello, Cap. XXVI, and authors there cited. Pedro Almendez Chirinos was then in possession of his *encomienda* of Jacona in Michoacan and had authority among and was respected by the Tarascos.

<sup>34</sup>Tello, Cap. XXVI. Diego Hernandez Proaño was afterward made *alcalde mayor* at Culiacan. See account *infra*. Tapia was his successor.

Here we have the whole expeditionary force, together with a list of the principal officers, who subsequently figured in the conquest, filling various positions; and reference to these may be had in comparing the statements of Cabeza de Vaca with the known history of the times to which they relate.

Passing over the cruel treatment and brutal murder of the king of Michoacan by Guzman, to satisfy a thirst for gold that no king's riches could quench, and the dissatisfaction in Guzman's camp as to the route to be pursued, and the change in favor of going down the river toward the territory of Francisco Cortés, as well as the struggles in crossing the river and in capturing the valley of Cuina, we come to that which has relation to the subject of this paper.

Tello says: "As soon as the captain Nuño de Guzman had concluded the war with the Indians of the river of Cuitzeo, as already said, he sent Captain Pedro Almendez Chirinos toward the North, in order that he might see and ascertain whether the route first taken when they started from Mexico was correct and true, and whether he could find any notice of the Amazons; for which he gave him fifty Spanish horsemen and thirty footmen and five hundred Mexican and Tlascalan Indians. Chirinos started from Cuitzeo river, and went to Tzapotlan del Rio, the valley of Acatic, and Tzapotlan de Juan de Saldivar, large capitals, and to Teepatitlan,<sup>34a</sup> to the Cerro Gordo, where there were many people of the Humares, of the Zacatecan nation, in *ranchos*. He went on approaching Camanja and las Chichimequillas, which is the place now called Los Lagos, where there were a great many settlements of people, living in movable *ranchos* and supporting themselves with game, rabbits, hares, and deer, dressed in skins, with the bow in hand, and sleeping where night overtook them. In the valley of Acatic he was very well received and regaled with bread and fowls, as if they were settled people, and he took possession. The other Chichimecas gave him only game, and therefore they would make no more records, only taking notes of places reached. And it being seen that there was no bread, and that they would have to suffer very much, they went to some villages of Zacatecans, whose cacique and lord was called Jiconaque, and arriving,

<sup>34a</sup>This name is so written by Tello, though it is the same generally called Tepatitlan.

they were received very well, and given maize, bread, and game to eat. And they asked the captain where he was going, and he said towards the north to hunt certain people of whom he had heard, and Amazons. The cacique said: 'You should not go further on, because you will be lost; for passing beyond the Zacatecans, who are of our generation, all further forward are treacherous people, called Guachichiles, and there is nothing to eat. Only we, the Tzacateca people, plant some maize, and have *ranchos*; and if you desire to know what is passing I will take you to that large town of the Tzacatecans, only five days journey, so that you may believe me, and we will take something to eat with us.' And so they loaded up with about two hundred *fanegas* of maize."<sup>35</sup>

It will be seen that this march made by Chirinos passed places still known, which were then, in 1530-1531, large Indian capitals; as Tzapotlan del Rio, now Zapotlanejo; Teepatitlan, now Tepatitlan, to the northeast of the former; Chichimequillas, now Los Lagos, at the north end of the fertile valley called "Valle del Bajio"; Cerro Gordo, where there were many people, which may have been where Santa Maria del Rio is now, or between that and Cerro Gigante, situate southeasterly from Los Lagos; the valley of Acatic, which was, in all probability, in the northern part of "El Bajio," where they met the cacique called Jiconaque and loaded up with the two hundred *fanegas* of maize, and possibly the place from which the maize was taken to the point of the mountain where Cabeza de Vaca went up to the town and received such a vast quantity. So they crossed and went up east of the river now called Rio Verde,<sup>36</sup> in Jalisco, from near where it has its confluence with the Rio Grande de Santiago to Los Lagos, on a route almost identical with that assumed for Cabeza de Vaca from Cerro Gigante to San Miguel. They may have gone through the western part of "El Bajio" after leaving Tepatitlan, as Tello mentions the valley of Acatic before he does Los Lagos.

Passing over Chirinos' march to Zacatecas, and thence to rejoin the main column under Guzman, the onward march up the Pacific coast will be taken up. But it will be observed that much is said about

<sup>35</sup>Tello, Cap. XXXVIII.

<sup>36</sup>This is the river on which San Miguel is marked on the sketch accompanying Part II, but its name was omitted in transferring the sketch.

what occurred along the Rio Grande de Santiago before the campaign to the north was undertaken in earnest.

In 1531 Guadalajara and San Miguel were founded; and then the troops divided into three columns, under Oñate, Chirinos, and Angulo, respectively. Their destinations were marked out in general terms; Chirinos was to go in search of the river Petatitlan<sup>36a</sup> and province of Sinaloa until he reached all its settlements of which they had notice, and Angulo was to go into the mountains of Topia in search of the valleys of Pánuco until he should come opposite Tampico, the intention of which was to open a road that way, so that these two governments Guzman had under his charge might have communication. These two captains started on their routes in November, 1531.<sup>37</sup>

Having dispatched the captains Chirinos and Angulo, neglecting all precaution and preparation in the town of San Miguel, Guzman went out therefrom by the rivers and coasts of the sea, and the towns surrendered in peace; but in spite of this, great cruelties were committed in them, in making slaves of the people and burning their houses. He went to the port of Bato and to the Ostial, and went up the river to Culiacan, which had more than five thousand inhabitants, and was the best of these provinces. The cacique received him in peace, and quartered him in his houses, where Guzman was royally treated; and he took possession of this province for the crown of Castile, and put the town in his *encomienda*. He remained some days in this town, where the Indians came to him with quantities of maize, beans, pumpkins, and fishes, in which the river of Culiacan was most abundant, being only two leagues from the sea. It was sufficient to sustain two cities like Lisbon and Sevilla, and the tide reached to the town.<sup>38</sup>

Then follows a description of the conquest he made.

Captain Chirinos went by the river Petatitlan in search of the seven cities of fine houses, which, as Guzman had notice, were in the mountains of the interior, and to find a great river four or five leagues wide emptying into the Sea of the South.

<sup>36a</sup>This is the river so called above the Culiacan river.

<sup>37</sup>Tello, Cap. XLVIII.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid., Cap. LII.



Passing over that part of Chirinos' campaign and much foreign to the present subject, as well as the story of Chirinos having a battle with thirty thousand Indians, conquering them and putting them under the Spanish crown, and then passing on to the valley of Petatitlan, the part of the story pertinent here is reached.

After Chirinos came to the valley of Petatitlan, as Tello says, he remained there and sent out Lázaro Cebreros and Diego de Alcaraz<sup>39</sup> to make discoveries. And after these had determined to return to Petatitlan, they received notice of there being further on some white men who had a negro with them; and these two captains, with four other mounted men, went in search of them, and found they were Cabeza de Vaca, Dorantes, Castillo, Maldonado, and Esteban, the negro, who had reached the Yaquimi, where they remained fifteen days, crying over their long and painful journey.<sup>40</sup> An intelligent Indian had arrived there and told them to take consolation, because not far from there were many men like them; and this brought them to their senses, and they went in search of the men of whom they were told by the Indian, believing they were near the City of Mexico; and meeting Cebreros, he took them to where Alcaraz was, and they were taken by him to Captain Chirinos, by whom they were kindly treated, and who recognized them, because they had been his friends before the voyage to Florida.<sup>41</sup>

According to this statement, the meeting at Petatlan was in the fall of 1532, nearly four years before the date at which it is claimed Cabeza de Vaca arrived at San Miguel, and almost three years before he ran off to the Avavares in the prickly pear range not very far from the Mexican Gulf coast. So it will be seen that this story requires sifting to get out what may be real truth, consistent with other known facts.

1. That "they believed they were near the City of Mexico," may be true, as they knew of the Christians having possession of that region, and had an idea of its locality.

2. That they met with Cebreros and Alcaraz is borne out by

<sup>39</sup>These two were then under Chirinos.

<sup>40</sup>Tello, Cap. LIX.

<sup>41</sup>Tello, Caps. LIX-LXI.

Cabeza's relation, though the manner, time, and circumstances are very different.

3. That they were carried to Captain Chirinos at Petatitlan may be true: not, however, in 1532, when he was on his campaign north of Culiacan, but in 1536, when he was in his *encomienda* in the northern part of Michoacan, and probably on a visit north of the Rio Grande de Santiago, at the ancient Indian capital of Petatlan in the territory he conquered on his first campaign in 1530-31, when he took that place and others up to Los Lagos, then called Chichimequillas.

4. Cabeza de Vaca entirely ignores this meeting with Chirinos, as well as the fifteen day's stay on the river Yaquimi, and places the fifteen days delay one day from Corazones and before reaching the town on the point of the mountain where a large quantity of maize was received, and then accounts for every day till they met Cebreros.

Still striving to harmonize contradictory statements, that is, the known facts as to the campaign made by Chirinos in 1532, and what was spread broadcast over the City of Mexico, by gossip and the excited chroniclers, Tello goes on to say in the same connection of 1532, that Captain Chirinos left Petatitlan, with Cabeza de Vaca and his companions, and went to Culiazan, where Melchor Diaz, who was captain and *justicia mayor*, received them. In the church there they sang *Te Deum laudamus*, which is sometimes sung on such occasions, on account of it being seen that in two years, a little more or less, with so few Castilians, Chirinos returned in peace and without loss, although many of the friendly Indians were lacking; but in recompense it was God's will they should find the four Castilians.<sup>42</sup> But Cabeza de Vaca, whose zeal for religious matters was unbounded, fails to mention any part of all this ceremony, and does not mention being in company with Chirinos, or that he ever knew him. Indeed, the acknowledgment of such acquaintance would have been damaging to the plan manifest in the latter part of the *Naufragios*.

Again Tello says: "They rested in the town of Culiacan fifteen days, to be able to march seventy leagues, the distance to the City of Compostela, in Tepic, where Nuño de Guzman was. \* \* \* Nuño de Guzman ordered a visit to Dorantes, Cabeza de Vaca, Castillo, and

<sup>42</sup>Tello, Cap. LXIII.

Maldonado, and that they should be lodged in the quarters of the Captain Flores, and Estebanico in the house of Guzman. \* \* \* And Captain Chirinos told him what he had discovered, and in what state he had left those provinces, and that there was no sign of gold or silver."<sup>43</sup>

Here the sifter must be brought in play, to separate the chaff of fiction from the real facts.

1. That Captain Chirinos left Petatitlan in Sonora in 1532, after ending his campaign, is historically true, and it is not improbable that he returned by way of Culiacan, where *Te Deum landamus* may have been sung on his safe arrival; but it is impossible that Cabeza de Vaca could then have been with him, for he was yet with his Indian masters.

2. It is historically true that Chirinos did return to Compostela, while it was at Tepic and Guzman was there; but it is in contradiction to all the known facts about the travels of Cabeza de Vaca to say he was there with Chirinos in 1532. And the history of that time shows that Guzman was there in Compostela on the sixteenth day of December, 1532, and then and there made the *Auto de Nuño de Guzman Para las Elecciones de Guadalajara*, signing it, *Fecha ut supra. Nuño de Guzman*—Attested. *Por mandado de S. S. Antonio de Teran*.

Now, take another view of these statements, by changing the date to April, 1536.

1. Chirinos made no such campaign in 1536, for in the early part of that year he was in Jalisco and went to the celebrated meeting at Compostela, called by Guzman to settle the question as to making slaves, and from there returned to his *encomienda* in Michoacan, having retired from Guzman's service, as will appear further on.

2. Melchor Diaz could not then have been captain and *alcalde mayor* at Culiacan; for, while he was appointed to such position in San Miguel prior to its removal to Culiacan and may have so officiated there when Chirinos returned, yet on Easter, 1534, Diego Hernandez de Proaño was appointed to that place by Guzman, as shown by the record.<sup>44</sup> He held the office until some time in 1536, when,

<sup>43</sup>Tello, Cap. LXIII.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid., Cap. LXIX.

according to Tello, "it occurred that in the province of Culiacan, where Diego Hernandez de Proaño was captain and *justicia mayor*, there was an uprising of the Indians. The cause was Proaño's having exceeded and ill-used the license to make slaves, and being so cruel in this, that while the miserable Indians were in their markets buying and selling with perfect peace, he turned people and soldiers upon them to attack them, and ordered the capture of the youngest and best disposed Indians, whom they branded, chained together, and sold."<sup>45</sup>

Being informed of these facts, Guzman had Proaño arrested and brought before him at Compostela, and there tried and convicted him, sentencing him to death and confiscation of property, from which he was relieved on appeal. Upon the arrest of Proaño, Guzman appointed Captain Cristóbal de Tapia, a resident of Culiacan, to succeed him;<sup>46</sup> and the latter was still holding the office of *alcalde mayor* and captain of the province at the end of 1537, leaving no room for Melchor Diaz to have held such office there in the year 1536.

As the making of slaves had been absolutely forbidden by the king in 1532, the question naturally arises, what license had Proaño exceeded and ill-used? As it may not be generally known to the English readers what license is here referred to, and it may cast light upon the present subject to show, the following quotation is given:

"Year of 1536. Nuño de Guzman being in the City of Compostela, and it being discussed very much among the captains and other Spaniards, whether they would leave the country on account of the poverty of the realm, and this being understood by Nuño de Guzman, who lived in dread from the flight of the fifty Spaniards, and considering that if with force and rigor he should offer to detain those who remained, he would expose himself to the manifest danger that they might revolt and that it would result in some kind of civil and martial war, in which he might be lost, without allowing himself to be understood, he endeavored to remove those intentions, by giving license to make slaves, although it was against what his majesty had ordered in the year 1532, abolishing absolutely the custom of making slaves, even if they were cannibals; it appearing to Nuño de

<sup>45</sup>Tello, Cap. LXXX.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid.

Guzman less inconvenient to fall into the hands of the king's indignation, than into those of the conquerors, because, if they left, all the country and what was conquered would be lost, and these might cause other irreparable injuries, which being remedied by the permission to make slaves, his majesty, as lord of his realms, might appease his indignation on that account.

"In order to deal with an affair so grave, he called the royal officers, alcaldes, magistrates, captains, and nobility, and, all being assembled, he required them to give their views upon the question whether slaves ought to be made, because his opinion was that slaves should be made of the rebellious; and all said there was no other means to remedy their poverty, a reason of state, which might prevail in supplicating his royal majesty to supersede his express order, until the discovery of some mines of silver and gold, and until cattle, sheep and other kinds of stock could be bred, in order to gain a support with the slaves in the meantime. But in no manner should there be slaves taken to another realm or government, with which the licensed use of making them was modified. The Spaniards remitted their opinion to that of Cristóbal de Oñate, who, speaking to the governor, said: 'Sir Governor, these gentlemen, royal officers, alcaldes, aldermen, captains, and other noble persons have committed it to me to respond and give my opinion'; and, turning his face toward all of them, in order that they might say whether they had so determined, they responded in a loud voice, yes, that he should speak for all of them. Then he said that he conformed to the determination of his lordship in the name of those present and absent, on account of the great poverty in which they were living, because in that would consist their not abandoning the provinces they had pacified, and that if they left them it would be in disservice of God our Lord and of the majesty of the king of Castile, the natives of them having received the holy faith, and very many of them being baptized; and his majesty being fully informed of the most grave necessity which obliged them to act, he would hold it well done. Furthermore, the service and slavery should be personal and within the ports of the realm, for the conservation of which that law which prohibits slavery was dispensed with, and when the herds and other things should be augmented, the service should cease and those who were slaves should be free, carrying into due execution the mercy his lordship,

the governor, designed to extend to them in the name of his majesty, who would receive it well when better informed. And with the use of the law of mild construction, he, in the name of all, gave his faith and word that they would not abandon the country, but rather, with more perfection, as loyal vassals of his majesty, they would put their forces in his royal service.

"Having heard Cristóbal de Oñate, who spoke in the name of all, Nuño Guzman pronounced a decree that they could make slaves, giving therein the order that had to be obeyed, and saying that there should be comprehended in the slavery, the mountaineers as rebels and disturbers of the peace, and conspirators against the royal possession. And having signed the act and license, he called the Captain Cristóbal de Oñate, who was one of the royal officers, and said to him: 'Well do I know, sirs, that if this act and license be exceeded, I will have to pay for it, and I recognize the fault which I commit against what is ordained by the king our lord; but God knows that I attend more to his service and to that of his royal majesty than to our interests, and I will be satisfied if for the act they should cut off my head, for with this determination I prevent the gravest injuries, which, as they are known to us all, we will express to his majesty.'

"Nuño de Guzman delivered the license and act to Cristóbal de Oñate and the other royal officers, and ordered that the branding iron be made to mark the slaves, and that the royal fifth should be taken out;<sup>47</sup> and the next day the act was proclaimed with trumpets through the accustomed streets,, and the Indians of the mountains being in rebellion, it was ordered that they should be given reductive notices in order that they might enter into peace, but they would not submit themselves. This being seen by Guzman, he ordered that some raids should be made upon them, and some captains went with broad license, and were excessive in making slaves, because, without excusing ages, they branded them, and he who in this displayed himself most cruel was a captain, whose name I do not discover, because of his having paid for his ferocity in Peru, remaining blind and begging alms. When one said that his brother Cristóbal de Oñate and other Spaniards let their hands slip in similar cruelties, and particu-

<sup>47</sup>The king reserving to his treasury a fifth of all reprisals, as such gains were called, it seems that Guzman, as a lawyer, intended to commit him as a party interested.

larly in not branding the children at the breast, he replied: 'No, there is no reason to hold back.' And there was so much cruelty in making these slaves, that the clamor of the innocent reached the pious and Christian ears of the king our lord, who provided an efficient remedy, which will be seen in the *residencia* of Nuño de Guzman.

"Seeing this the captains Diego Almendez Chirinos and Orozco asked leave of Nuño de Guzman to return to Mexico, for they had served more than six years in that journey and conquest, and other twenty-five Spaniards also asked leave. And Pedro Almendez Chirinos, as inspector of the royal fisc, with much courtesy requested that Guzman should allow the friendly Mexican Indians and the Tarascos whom he had taken in his company to go away;<sup>48</sup> and Guzman granted the leave with disguised sentiment, and ordered them to prepare as soon as possible for their departure. But they who desired it were not at all slow, and within eight days left with twenty-five cavalry and eight thousand Mexican and Tarasco Indians that had remained. There were many envious of that day, but their nobility required them not to leave the realm.

"The army was diminished, and the captains Chirinos and Orozco went to Mexico, leaving the friendly Indians in Michoacan. Chirinos remained in Mexico with the Mexicans he took, having left in order his *encomienda*, of Jacona in the province of Michoacan, and Orozco went to Guaxaca, where he had his, and the twenty-five Castilians went to Peru, where they had better luck."<sup>49</sup>

There being no other license of the kind after the king's *cedula* of 1532 until this was adopted in 1536, it is presumed that Proaño's abuse of it was after its being issued, and, therefore, his arrest and trial for such abuse must have been as late as 1536, and not in 1532, as may be inferred from the vague statement of Mr. Bancroft, who

<sup>48</sup>This shows that neither of the Captains Chirinos left the service of Guzman in 1530, as supposed by some writers, but that they both retired in 1536, when the license to make slaves was issued at Compostela. It seems that Pedro Almendez Chirinos kept soldiers under his command in his *encomienda* at Jacona till as late as 1551, when, as Velasco says, they went to where the city of Leon is now situated, which place they had named Valle de Señora. See volume Guanajuato, p. 215.

<sup>49</sup>Tello, Cap. XXV.

partly relieves his statement from such view by saying: "In a vain effort to regain lost favor at court Nuño de Guzman, regardless of his own past policy and instructions, caused Captain Proaño to be arrested and brought to Compostela for trial, on charge of making slaves in violation of law."<sup>50</sup> But what past policy and instructions did Guzman disregard? Were not they embodied in the decree at Compostela mentioned above, which occurred in 1536? Since the records show no other after the king's order of 1532 absolutely abolishing such custom and since they also show Proaño's appointment in April, 1534, is it not plain that it was the notorious policy adopted in 1536? In this connection, Mr. Bancroft says: "According to Beaumont and Ramirez, Cristóbal de Tapia was sent as *alcalde mayor* to San Miguel,"<sup>51</sup> which shows Tapia was successor to Proaño, whose appointment then dated from Easter in 1534. And, whether Proaño was the first *alcalde* of San Miguel and Melchor Diaz a little later, as stated by Mr. Bancroft, or Diaz was the first, as stated by Tello, and held the office until April, 1534, the fact that Proaño was arrested, tried, and condemned for the violation and misuse of a license issued at Compostela in 1536, and Tapia was made his successor, precludes Diaz from being such officer in April, 1536, when Cabeza de Vaca met Alcaraz.

Speaking of the appointment of officers by Coronado, Tello says: "In Culiacan there was another captain made, who was called Melchor Diaz, who was *alcalde mayor* and lieutenant-governor in that province."<sup>52</sup> Whose lieutenant was he? Certainly not Guzman's who had already been arrested and sent to Spain; and not that of the Licentiate Diego Perez de la Torre, for he was commissioned to act as governor and to take the *residencia* of Guzman and his officers, and to take charge of the government of Nueva Galicia; and finally, after taking the *residencia* of Guzman at Mexico, and of his officers at Pánuco, he reached Guadalajara in 1537, where he died in January, 1538, leaving Cristóbal de Oñate as governor by public instrument, and no sign of his removing Tapia has been met so far.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>50</sup>N. Mex. States and Tex., I, 59.

<sup>51</sup>Ibid.

<sup>52</sup>Tello, Cap. XCIX.

<sup>53</sup>Ibid., XCI.



Whether Oñate made any change at Culiacan, or San Miguel, as it was then called, is not made to appear, nor does it make any difference whether he, or Coronado, after succeeding him, appointed Melchor Diaz, as Cabeza de Vaca was then already in Spain. So it may be presumed that Coronado made Diaz captain and his lieutenant-governor at Culiacan in lieu of Tapia, since no earlier record of the change appears to have been found.

Thus it seems that Proaño's offense was an alleged breach of the license issued at Compostela in 1536; that he was then acting under his appointment of April, 1534; and that his immediate successor was Tapia, appointed by Guzman, who continued to be governor of Nueva Galicia till late in the fall of 1536, long after Cabeza de Vaca had passed through and gone to Mexico.

Is it rational to suppose that Cabeza de Vaca went to Culiacan in April, 1536, and was ignorant of all these facts? If he had gone there before the arrest, Proaño would have been the *alcalde mayor* and captain of the province; and if he had gone there after the arrest, then Tapia would have been such officer there. Guzman was still governor, as shown by all authorities, and if he did not remove Tapia, he or Proaño must have been at Culiacan in April, 1536. This would contradict the statement that Melchor Diaz then held the position, showing it untrue, and assumed without proper knowledge of collateral facts, or in disregard of them. If Cabeza de Vaca left Culiacan and went to San Miguel and there remained until May 15, 1536, where was that San Miguel? Was not the town of such name removed to Culiacan long before that? Whether Guzman removed it to that place in 1531, as said by Tello, or in 1532, as claimed by Bancroft, it was certainly done before 1536, and the two were then one and the same.<sup>54</sup>

If, as Cabeza de Vaca says, he went from San Miguel to Compostela in company with six men in charge of five hundred Indian slaves, it must have been after the license to make slaves was issued; else they would not have been driving such a herd of them to Guzman's capital; and this would have required Proaño still to be *alcalde mayor* and captain at Culiacan. Do not these facts show that Cabeza de Vaca did not go to Culiacan, and that he suppressed real facts

<sup>54</sup>See Tello, Caps. XLVIII and LII.

and substituted others with which he was not acquainted, and which were not sustained by the history of the times? Let all impossible and contradictory parts of the story of his going to Culiacan be sifted out and discarded, and then it will be seen what is left.

Pedro Almendez Chirinos was not at Culiacan with his forces in April, 1536, as there is no account of his going there after his return to Compostela in the latter part of 1532. He could not then have taken with him the survivors of the Narvaez expedition; for at that time they had not left the prickly pear region on the Mexican Gulf coast, nor had they crossed the great river as wide as that at Sevilla. There is not even a pretence in *Naufragios* that they reached the first Christians before 1536, and the claim that they met them in 1532 contradicts a large proportion of the relation in regard to their stay with their Indian masters. It is not claimed in the relation that they met Chirinos or ever heard of him in New Spain. The story of their being in Culiacan in 1532 is totally ignored, and that of their being there in 1536 is tainted with statements contradicting the records and history of the country at that time; so the claim that they were there at all should be discarded.

Cabeza de Vaca fails to tell of crossing a single river or seeing any natural object along the pretended march from Culiacan to Compostela, or any persons except the escort a short distance from San Miguel to where he met the six men and five hundred slaves, none of whom has he described even by name. So Cabeza de Vaca's reaching Culiacan must go with the chaff, and that Captain Chirinos was there in 1536 is equally unfounded. That Cabeza de Vaca traveled to Compostela with the six nameless men and five hundred Indians made slaves contradicts all the other data; and that he spent over a month with Melchor Diaz on the way from Culiacan to Compostela, and that Diaz was then the captain and *alcalde mayor* of that district is unfounded and violative of the historical record as to others filling that place in 1536. All these things may be discarded. But Cabeza de Vaca may have met Melchor Diaz on the first of April, 1536, on Rio Verde of Jalisco, above the ancient Indian town of Petatitlan; he may have gone with him and Cebreros to Petatitlan and there have met Captain Chirinos, as that was in the latter's first conquest in Nueva Galicia, and not far north of his *encomienda* accross the line in Michoacan. He may have there embraced his old friend Chirinos

at that time and engaged in singing with him *Te Deum laudamus*; he may have gone thence with the captain to Compostela and have been present at the meeting when the resolution to make slaves was adopted; and he may have protested against the slave business and made a note of it. Though he is silent on all this, there is a connection of facts to bring it to light.

As above related, the two, Chirinos and Orosco, withdrew from the service of Guzman when the slave resolution was adopted at Compostela in 1536, and it remains to be shown that the claim that Cabeza de Vaca came there from Culiacan in 1532 is a mistake by Tello, as he gives a key for its correction. When he comes to treat of what took place there between Cabeza de Vaca and Guzman he says:

“It is already told how Captain Chirinos, when he returned from the river Yaquimi and Petatlan, brought in his company the Castilians from Florida. These having been in the city of Compostela some days, and seeing the disorder there was in making slaves, Cabeza de Vaca said to Nuño de Guzman he had let his hand slip in it, and that he should remedy it to prevent his receiving injury, it being in disservice of God and the king. And having heard them, Nuño de Guzman was offended at them, and dispatched them for Mexico, because in those times, and even in these, in the West Indies, the truth is regulated and tyranny prevails, and their ministers and officers take more hand than is given them by the offices, his majesty being absent. They took out a *testimonio* of the mode used in making slaves, and left at the beginning of June of the year 1536, and arrived at the City of Mexico on the 22nd of July. There they were well received by the viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza, who ordered them to make a map of their peregrination and the countries they had seen, because he proposed to make a new discovery, which Cabeza de Vaca and Andrés Dorantes made and delivered.”<sup>55</sup>

The *testimonio* is a certified copy of the protocol, and, in this instance, showed that the license to make slaves and the manner of doing it constituted a protocol, and the *testimonio* was plenary proof of it, which Cabeza de Vaca, as a lawyer, understood, so this clearly corrects the error as to his being there in 1532.

<sup>55</sup>Tello, Cap. LXXIV.

Of this matter, Cabeza makes no mention in his relation, nor does he mention that Chirinos was there; but it is evident that if he went there at that time, there was some foundation for the statement that he accompanied Chirinos and his command, and not the six men with five hundred Indians made slaves. He may have taken the idea of getting a copy of the license to make slaves from the discontent of Chirinos and his asking permission to retire. For some reason not given, he omitted the trouble at Compostela, his taking the *testimonio* of the license, and the fact that he warned Guzman of the danger he was in on account of the affair. His whole description of the journey from San Miguel to Compostela is as follows:

"In the town of Sant Miguel we remained till the 15th day of May, and the cause of our remaining there so long was that from there to the city of Compostela, where the Governor Nuño Guzman resided, there are one hundred leagues, all unsettled and full of enemies, and people had to go with us with whom there were going twenty cavalrymen, who accompanied us forty leagues; and from there forward there came with us six Christians, who were bringing five hundred Indians made slaves. On our arriving at Compostela, the Governor received us very well, and of all he had he gave us to clothe ourselves, which for many days I could not use, nor could we sleep except on the ground; and after ten or twelve days we left for Mexico. All along the road we were well treated by the Christians, and many came along the roads to see us, and they gave thanks to God for having delivered us from so many dangers. On Sunday, one day before the eve of St. James, we arrived at Mexico, where by the Viceroy and the Marqués del Valle we were well treated and received with much pleasure, and they gave us clothes, and offered all they had, and on St. James' day there were feasts, firing of rockets, and bull fights."<sup>56</sup>

This quotation shows all said about the whole journey from San Miguel *via* Compostela to Mexico. It is devoid of the description of a single point on the way. It crosses all the rivers within one hundred leagues of Compostela going along the coast, without the mention of one, or even of the coast of the great Sea of the South. Omitting all the rivers except one, can it be believed he would have

<sup>56</sup>Naufragios, Cap. XXXVI.

crossed the Rio Grande de Santiago, emptying into the sea not far from Tepic, without noticing it? Did not the volcano Cangruco, rising more than six thousand feet above the plain of Tepic and Compostela, afford him a scene worthy of note? Did he cross the rivers Quilá, Elote, Piaxtia, Quelite, del Presidio, Chametla, and the Narrows, and even Tequepan Bay, unnoticed? Did he thence pursue Guzman's road, crossing Rio Chico, Rio San Pedro, and Rio Grande de Santiago to Tepic, without seeing any of these or the Pacific? Why was he so averse to naming these rivers and places, if he really passed them? But from Compostela to Mexico what does he state to show he traveled the road, except that the people came out to see him? The road went up the south side of the Rio Grande to Guad-alajara, then a considerable place, in fact, the largest in Nueva Galicia; but he seems to have overlooked it. Either side of Lake Chapala he may have taken would certainly have presented a grand and enchanting scene, yet if he passed along there he concealed the fact. In a word, if he had passed down from Culiacan, the intended rendezvous of the viceroy's pet expedition, he would have grown eloquent in the description of so many rivers carrying much water (*caudalosos*), but he does not even tell whether they were breast deep like those crossed on the first part of his route.

Now, if he met Cebreros on the stream flowing down from Chichimequillas or Los Lagos to the Verde and then went to San Miguel to meet Melchor Diaz, and thence to Tepatitlan and there met Chirinos, he may have gone with him to the meeting at Compostela, all in the spring of 1536, without contradicting known history; and when Captain Chirinos left Compostela, he may have gone with him to Jacona, the head of his *encomienda*, and rested there, and then have gone with the captain to the City of Mexico. But if this route had been reported to the king, it would not have favored the expedition to hunt the Northern Pass, the Amazons, or the Seven Cities of Cibolo.

That Mendoza had already conceived the idea of making new discoveries toward the north is generally understood. Tello says Mendoza "ordered them to make a map of their peregrinations and the countries they had seen, because he proposed to make a new discovery; which Cabeza de Vaca and Andrés Dorantes made and delivered." And this map would have shown many of the natural objects along

their route, had it been preserved or exhibited to the king, a consequence that may have been unfavorable to Mendoza's design. It was either not of sufficient importance to require its preservation, or too damaging to the idea of its leading to an expedition to the north in search of the Amazons, the Seven Cities, or the Northern Pass to the Islands of Spices, to allow its presentation to the king on such subject, or its preservation in the *Archivo General*. At least the writer has met with no authentic account of its having been sent to the king or placed in the archives at Mexico; nor has he been able to find any trace of the record made when Cabeza de Vaca encountered Diego Alcaraz, of which Cabeza de Vaca says: "And I asked that there should be given to me *in testimonio* the year and the month and day I had arrived there, and the manner in which I came, and so they made it."<sup>57</sup> This document might have shown that Diego Alcaraz belonged to Pedro Almendez Chirinos' command and was in the limits of Jalisco. It might have explained that he was one of the captains of such command, stationed above San Miguel, or subordinate to Melchor Diaz at that place; but if it did then its presentation to the king would have shown that the route of the survivors of the Narvaez expedition was not such as would have afforded any reliable information as to the wonders of Síbola, Quivira, or the Amazons. And the map taken with this document might have shown very much the same route traced on the sketch attached to Part II of this paper, which would have been detrimental to the real design of Mendoza and those interested in procuring royal permission and aid to make the expedition to the north. But the map and document having disappeared, their effect was obviated.

<sup>57</sup>Naufragios, Cap. XXXIII.

## THE OLD TOWN OF HUNTSVILLE.\*

HARRY F. ESTILL.

In the history of the development of our institutions, towns have always played an important part. The "tunes man," or townsman, of the forests of northern Germany, laid the foundation of that capacity for self-government, which is a distinguishing characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon race. The towns of old England have ever been centers of English life and moulders of English character. In American history, Boston and Philadelphia, Williamsburg and Charleston, Chicago and New Orleans, represent essential and typical features of American life. To the student of the varied and romantic history of our own State of Texas, the story of our older towns possesses incalculable interest. San Antonio, Nacogdoches, San Felipe, Columbia, are names interwoven with the history of our people. Though not dating its origin so far into the past as the places just mentioned, yet Huntsville is properly classed among the old towns of Texas, in whose annals men and events are recorded whose influence extended far beyond the limits of the town and county.

In the year 1836, soon after the battle of San Jacinto, two brothers, Pleasant and Ephraim Gray, came from the State of Alabama to make their home in the new-born republic of Texas. They had previously secured from the Mexican government a head-right league of land a few miles southwest of the Trinity river, in what was then the municipality of Washington. On this tract they pitched their camp, near a bold spring of pure water, a few yards distant from the edge of a small prairie that lay like an oasis in the vast forest around it. Attracted by the beauty of the spot and influenced by the fact that the spring was a favorite rendezvous of the peaceful Indians of the neighborhood, the Grays decided to establish here a trading post and build their home. Two cabins

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\*Read at the Midwinter Meeting of the Association at Huntsville, January 9, 1900.

were soon erected from the logs of the forest, and a thriving trade sprang up with the neighboring Bedias and Coshatties and occasional passing immigrants. As white settlers began to occupy the surrounding country, the trading post developed into a store, the commodious log-cabin home into an inn, and when a new-comer, Thomas P. Carson by name, had set up a blacksmith shop, the beginning of the town of Huntsville was made.

The spring which led to the founding of the town on its present site still bubbles near where our electric light and ice factory now stands, and until a few years ago supplied with its never-failing stream the only public watering trough in town. The little open prairie included the present public square. The trading post of the Grays was on the edge of the prairie, near the present site of Mrs. Cotton's drug store. The cabin home of Pleasant Gray occupied the spot where the residence of our popular townsman, W. H. Woodall, now stands—in fact, Mr. Woodall's residence contains some of the timbers of the old house. Ephraim Gray's home stood in what was known as "the cedars"—the corner lot north of the present electric light plant.

The Anglo-Saxon is ever a home-lover. Even when banished from his native land he loves to perpetuate in the geographical terms of his new abiding place the names associated with his childhood home. It was thus with Pleasant Gray. To the settlement which he founded in the Texas forest he gave the name Huntsville, in honor of his old home in Alabama. Worth noting in this connection, is the deep interest frequently evinced by the people of Pleasant Gray's Alabama home town in the struggles of the Texas patriots. The historian Yoakum mentions Huntsville, Alabama, as one of the towns in the United States that in the autumn of 1835 raised troops and funds to aid the Texas revolutionists. In the massacre at Goliad, a company known as the "Huntsville Volunteers" sealed their devotion to the patriots' cause with their blood. Among the historic relics belonging to the Normal School is a muster roll of the "Huntsville Rovers," enlisted in the service of the Republic of Texas at Galveston, May, 1842. The captain of the company was Jeremiah Clemens, who was subsequently a member of Congress from Alabama.

In the year after Pleasant Gray established his Texas home, the



first Congress of the Republic replaced the old Mexican "municipalities" with counties. The county of Montgomery was created from that part of the municipality of Washington lying east of the Nava-sota river, and embracing Pleasant Gray's head-right league. Montgomery county then included the present counties of Montgomery, Grimes, Walker, Madison, and part of San Jacinto, and was soon the most populous county of the Republic.

At the time that Huntsville was founded, settlers from "the States" had already begun to come to this region in considerable numbers. On the Trinity river, some twelve miles north of the present site of Huntsville (and within the present limits of Walker county) a prosperous village had for some years existed with the ambitious name of Cincinnati. Situated on the highway, between Nacogdoches and Washington, with river boats plying between her wharf and Galveston, carrying passengers and freight, Cincinnati in that early day was a place of considerable importance. Who knows but that when the Federal government shall have improved the navigation of the Trinity, Cincinnati—now only a memory—may arise from its ruins, eclipse Huntsville, its former competitor, and even rival its great namesake on the Ohio? Danville was then another flourishing settlement in this region (now in Montgomery county). Mr. S. R. Smith, one of our oldest citizens, passed through Cincinnati and Danville in July, 1838, on his way to Houston. He found the people of Danville attending a great barbecue, and listening to patriotic speeches in celebration of the "glorious Fourth"—thus giving evidence of the closeness of the ties that bound them to their old homes in the United States—ties that were only strengthened by the lapse of time, and that finally wrought their inevitable result, a union under one government of those who were already one people.

In the period of the infancy of Huntsville, her citizens displayed that concern for the education of their children that made their town an educational center. When the place was hardly half a dozen years old, a substantial school building of brick, known as the "Brick Academy," was erected by the voluntary contributions of citizens. The land for the site of the academy was donated by Pleasant Gray, and is now included within the walls of the penitentiary, near the north front. The name of the first principal of the

Brick Academy, I have been unable to ascertain. He is referred to, however, in the town paper of the period, as "a teacher of splendid acquirements." In later years, when the school became a female academy, it was successfully conducted by lady principals, among whom may be mentioned Miss Melinda Rankin, afterwards missionary and authoress, Mrs. M. L. Branch, wife of Dr. John Branch, and Miss Rowena Crawford, who afterwards became the wife of Judge James A. Baker.

The era of the Republic had closed before the first church building had been erected in Huntsville. The Baptists, however, had a church organization, and divine services were held at regular intervals in the Brick Academy by Reverends Samuels and Creath of this faith, and occasionally by ministers of other denominations.

To this period belongs the organization of the Masonic Lodge of Huntsville. The minutes of the Grand Lodge of the Republic, Seventh Session, held at Washington on the Brazos, in 1844, show that a petition was presented to open a lodge at Huntsville. On January 11, 1844, the charter was granted with the designation, "Forest Lodge, No. 19." A short time later a Masonic hall was erected on the north side of the square, on the site the lodge at present occupies.

Towards the close of this period the first town newspaper was established. In May, 1845, appeared the first issue of the "Montgomery Patriot." Through the courtesy of Judge J. M. Smither, to whom I am indebted for many of the facts stated in this paper, I have been permitted to see a copy of the Patriot of date September 27, 1845; also early copies of the Texas Banner and the Huntsville Item. The "Patriot" was edited by J. M. Wade, whose office was on the east side of the square, "over Smither & Co.'s store." The subscription price was "four dollars at the end of three months—at the end of the year \$5," with the proviso, that "one-fourth of the subscription must, in all cases, be paid in advance." The Patriot had little local matter or news of any kind. It contained chiefly clippings from magazines and other newspapers. The advertising columns of the issue above referred to, contain a proclamation of President Anson Jones, ordering an election to decide upon the adoption or rejection of the proposed first State Constitution of Texas. Editorially, the Patriot favored the adoption of the Constitution,

although it objected to the large number of legislators provided for and the consequent expense to the taxpayers. The rates of postage under the Republic are printed, "ten cents for single letters less than a hundred miles; over a hundred miles 20 cents." The editor rejoices over the establishment of a stage line to Houston—with weekly trips "at the low rate for passengers of seven dollars each way."

The stores of Huntsville in this period of course carried small stocks. The goods were brought here, either by wagon from Houston, or by boat to Cincinnati, thence by wagon to Huntsville. It is related that Ephraim Gray was unwilling to sell more than three yards of domestic to any one customer, lest his stock be too soon exhausted. Planters frequently had their season's supplies hauled in wagons from Houston. The teamster did a thriving business and was quite independent. It is told of a citizen of this period who had employed a teamster to bring a load of hams from Houston, that after waiting a reasonable time in vain for the arrival of his supplies, he wrote his Houston merchant a letter of inquiry. He was told in reply that the order had been promptly filled, and the wagon had departed some weeks before. The weeks continued to roll by until finally the long expected wagon one day rolled up to the gate of the now irate citizen. In response to an indignant inquiry as to the cause of the long delay, the teamster coolly informed his employer, that as the road passed his farm in Montgomery county, he had stopped on the way to work out his crop.

What may be termed the first period of the history of Huntsville closes in 1846, when the new county of Walker was organized and Huntsville became a county seat. In the closing years of this period the town was incorporated by the Congress of the Republic. With an intelligent and enterprising population numbering several hundred, Huntsville now rivalled in size and importance any town in what was then known as "Middle Texas."

The First Legislature of the State of Texas provided for the formation of a number of new counties. On April 6, 1846, the two new counties of Walker and Grimes were created from a part of old Montgomery county. On July 18, 1846, Walker county was organized. The Democratic party having brought Texas into the Union, the people of the new State were naturally warm adherents of that

political faith. The names of President Polk and several of his official family are preserved in the appellations of counties created during the period in question. Robert J. Walker, of Mississippi, was Polk's Secretary of the Treasury, and in his honor one of the counties created from old Montgomery was named. It is interesting to note just here, that when, in the period of the war between the States, Robert J. Walker became a Union man, the Legislature of Texas, by a solemn enactment, repudiated all connection between the name of Walker county and that of Robert J. Walker, though the name of the county was retained.

With the organization of Walker county a committee of enterprising citizens of Huntsville, consisting of J. C. Smith, Henderson Yoakum, and Robert Smither, secured a handsome subscription from the townspeople for the erection of public buildings and with a view to securing the county seat. As a result of their efforts Huntsville became the capital of Walker county, and soon a brick court house took the place of the old market house in the center of the square. A number of new stores and residences were erected and the town was in the midst of its first "boom." In 1849, Huntsville's population, "by an exact estimate," was between 500 and 600.

In January, 1846, the "Texas Banner," edited by Frank Hatch, took the place of the Montgomery Patriot as the town newspaper. About this time Huntsville began to boast of a religious periodical in addition to her secular paper. "The Texas Presbyterian," an organ of the Cumberland Presbyterian denomination, and perhaps the first religious paper published in Texas, was founded in Houston, in 1846, by Rev. A. J. McGowan, a veteran of San Jacinto. Less than a year later the founder of the Presbyterian moved his paper to Huntsville, where he continued to edit and publish it for about ten years. The minutes of the Grand Chapter of Masons of Texas for 1851 were printed in pamphlet form on Rev. Mr. McGowan's press. In 1850, the Texas Banner gave place to the "Huntsville Item," which today enjoys the distinction of being one of the oldest papers in the State. The Item was founded by George Robinson, the honored father of the present editor. George Robinson was forced to suspend his paper during the war on account of the failure of paper supply, and he then enlisted in the Confederate army. A. C. Gray, in Scarff's History of Texas, says: "No paper pub-

lished in Texas during this period is more deserving of notice than the Huntsville Item. Without pretension to style, with no display of extraordinary energy or enterprise, the Item was yet always a favorite visitor to its readers, and exercised more influence within its circle than did many a more pretentious sheet."

The Republic of Texas had no penitentiary, criminals being taken in charge by the various counties. Soon after annexation, however, the Legislature provided for the establishment of a penitentiary, and enterprising Huntsville secured the prize, the institution being located here in 1847. The original penitentiary contained 240 cells, and covered a very small part of the space occupied by the present buildings. The first convict was incarcerated October 1, 1849. During the ten years following only 412 prisoners were committed. For a long time the prisoners could be hired under guards to perform various kinds of work in town. As a result practically all the carpentering, brick-laying, blacksmithing, etc., of the place was performed by convicts, to some extent retarding the substantial growth of the town by preventing the immigration of mechanics and laborers. The citizens fondly hoped, however, that the location in their midst of the first State institution was the precursor of their securing the capital of the commonwealth.

The State Constitution of 1845 provided that the capital should remain at Austin until 1850, when by vote of the people its location for the next twenty years should be decided upon. Ambitious Huntsville at once began to aspire to become the seat of government, and her aspirations were not without a substantial basis. A letter in the *Galveston News* of September 5, 1849, describes the town of Huntsville as "rapidly rising into importance, and already taking rank among the most enterprising populations and improving of our interior towns, with high hopes of becoming the political metropolis of the State." "To perpetuate the prosperity of Huntsville," the writer suggests, among other needs, "a good wagon road to Houston, a railroad to the Trinity, and the improvement of the navigation of that river." When the vote for the capital was counted in 1850, however, it was found that Austin had beaten both her rivals, Huntsville and Tehuacana Hills. Old citizens of Huntsville still console themselves for that defeat by attributing it to the illegal Mexican vote of the Rio Grande country, which, they assert, secured Austin's success.

In 1850, the contract for the first church building in the town was let by the Cumberland Presbyterians. This first church still stands, though at present owned and occupied by the Christian denomination. The Cumberland Presbyterians, the pioneers and former leaders of religious work in this section of Texas, long ago disbanded their Huntsville organization. The Baptists erected the second church building, the Old School Presbyterians the third (in 1855). The Methodists had the walls of their building up in 1861, when the war put a stop to its construction, and it was not completed until after the close of the struggle. The Episcopal church was not erected until 1868, work on this building having been delayed by the awful epidemic of '67. The first Sunday school in Huntsville was a union school, organized in 1847. About this time a flourishing division of the Sons of Temperance existed, numbering 230 members.

In 1846, or '47, a second school building was erected. This was a frame house, situated on a lot west of the cemetery. It was known as the "Male Academy," the old "Brick Academy" being now restricted to the education of girls. One of its first teachers was Rev. Dr. Samuel McKinney, father of our esteemed fellow-citizen, Hon. A. T. McKinney. The old doctor was a thorough instructor and stern disciplinarian. On one occasion, when conducting his school in the Masonic building on Court House Square, he was worried by the persistent inattention of his boys to their studies. The fact was that a great fox chase had been in progress for several days, and runners from the country had reported that the fox was heading toward town. Suddenly the unmistakable note of the hounds was wafted on the breeze through the open windows of the school room. In an instant every boy was upon his feet, and there was a general movement toward the doors. The doctor instinctively grasped one of his well-seasoned hickories and shouted for order. Then quickly reconsidering his evident intention, and remarking that he would either have to thrash every boy present or dismiss school, he wisely announced a suspension of exercises. Teacher and pupils hurried outside in time to see the fox, hard pressed by dogs and hunters, dash madly down Main street and through the center of the town.

In 1849, Brazos Presbytery of the Old School Presbyterian church resolved to establish a college within its bounds, and appointed Rev. Daniel Baker to invite propositions from various towns

to secure its location. In the performance of his mission, Dr. Baker held a series of meetings in Huntsville, at the close of which the liberal subscription of \$10,000 was made by the citizens to secure the college. The following year the institution was located in Huntsville. A two-story brick building was erected, and in 1852 the college went into operation, with Rev. Daniel Baker, D. D., as its first president. At a meeting of the officers of the Huntsville Presbyterian church, August 20, 1849, a resolution was passed suggesting the name "San Jacinto College," for the new institution, "should it go into operation." "Austin College," however, was the name selected by its patriotic founders, in honor of Stephen F. Austin, the father of Texas. The foundation of a good library, and considerable chemical and physical apparatus were secured, and for twenty-five years a college of high grade was maintained, with a patronage extending to distant portions of the State. In the seventies, Austin College was moved to Sherman, Texas, where it is today a prosperous institution. The old building still stands at Huntsville, perpetuating under a new name the memory of another hero and patriot of Texas history.

Determined that the higher education of their girls should not be neglected, the citizens of Huntsville, by another liberal donation, secured the location of "Andrew Female College." This institution, established in 1854, was under the direction of the Texas Conference of the Methodist church, and was named in honor of Bishop Andrew. One of the first presidents of the college was Dr. T. H. Ball, father of our distinguished fellow-townsmen, Congressman T. H. Ball. Andrew College was a frame building, occupying the site of the present city public school. After its establishment, the Brick Academy fell into disuse, just as the male academy adjoining the cemetery was supplanted by the preparatory department of Austin College. About the time Austin College was removed, Andrew Female College was discontinued by the Methodist church. The building was used for a time for a city public school, then it was removed to another part of town, where it now serves as a colored school building.

In 1851, the second session of the Grand Chapter of Masons of Texas met at Huntsville, and from 1853 to 1860, inclusive, Huntsville was the meeting place of this important body, whose annual sessions brought together many of the distinguished men of Texas.

It was a custom for the grand officers to be publicly installed in the Presbyterian church, and immediately thereafter for a banquet to be given to the Grand Chapter at one of the hotels by Forest Lodge.

Among its citizens, Huntsville has never lacked men of the foremost rank in all the ordinary vocations of life. Some of these whose conspicuous services to the public in the early days have made their names a part of the history of the State may here be mentioned. Henderson Yoakum, the pioneer historian of Texas, whose "History of Texas" was for years almost the only authority on the annals of our people, and is still a standard work on the period which it covers, made Huntsville his home, and found here his last resting place. A distinguished lawyer in his native State of Tennessee, Colonel Yoakum, in 1845, moved to Texas and settled in Huntsville. He served with gallantry in the Mexican war, and afterwards refused high official position that he might devote himself to his profession. His monumental history was written at his country home, "Shepherd's Valley," seven miles from Huntsville.

Dr. C. G. Keenan united eminent ability as a physician with a talent for public life. He was elected to the Third Legislature of Texas, 1849, where his ability and popularity led to his selection as Speaker of the House of Representatives. Dr. Keenan was for ten years treasurer of the Grand Chapter of Masons of Texas, and at one time served as government surgeon to the Indians.

Soon after annexation, Gen. Sam Houston moved with his family to this section, first locating upon a plantation called "Raven Hill," some fourteen miles south of town. The following year he moved to Huntsville, where he selected for his home a spot near a bold spring nestled in a valley south of town. His house, now the residence of Mrs. Smedes, still stands, with numerous additions and improvements, and is pointed out to strangers as "the old Sam Houston place." The spring, known as the "Sam Houston spring," is within a stone's throw of the State Normal School, whose name perpetuates the old hero's memory. When he removed to Austin as Governor in 1859, Gen. Houston sold his home place. On being deposed from the office of Governor, however, he returned to Huntsville and rented a home in the northeast part of the town. At this house his death took place in 1863. The leader of victorious armies, Governor of two States, President of the Republic of Texas, Congressman from Tennessee, and United States Senator from Texas,



now lies buried in the Huntsville cemetery, with a plain marble slab marking his resting place.

Gen. Sam Houston's negro body servant, Josh Houston, still lives in Huntsville, and is one of the town's most interesting historic characters, as well as one of its most intelligent and substantial colored citizens. Josh came into the general's possession in 1840, having previously belonged to Mrs. Houston's father, Col. Lea, of Alabama. He served his new master faithfully from 1840 till the old general's death in 1863, traveling with him over the State, and often acting as bearer of important public documents. The old man—now over 75 years of age—loves to tell of his first impressions of the stalwart Texas statesman, when he came courting his young mistress, Miss Lea, of Alabama, in 1839. There are few distinguished Texans of the period, 1840-60, whom Josh does not distinctly remember.

Antony M. Branch came from Virginia to Texas soon after annexation, and located at Huntsville. He at once took rank among the prominent lawyers and able men of this section. When the war between the States broke out he raised a company of men for the Confederate service, and while in the field was elected to the Confederate Congress.

The culture, refinement, and domestic graces of the women of Huntsville have done much to give the place the reputation it has always enjoyed. It is not generally known, however, that before the town was a dozen years old it numbered an authoress among its citizens. Miss Melinda Rankin, previously mentioned as one of the teachers of the Brick Academy, was the author of a little volume called "Texas in 1850." The preface is dated Cincinnati, Texas, 1850. The book was published in Boston, and is long since out of print. One does not need to read far in her book to discover that Miss Rankin is a native of New England, and possesses the idiosyncrasies and virtues of the New England character. She gives a remarkably clear account of the country, indicating that she had traveled over a large section of the State. In her sketch of Huntsville, she says: "There is perhaps no inland town in the State combining in so great a degree the advantages of good society, health, religious and educational advantages, and business facilities as Huntsville. A concentration of talent, enterprise, and morality is

proven by the history of the town, and gives abundant reason for predicting its future course to be brilliant and consequential."

In times of our country's peril, Huntsville's citizens have ever been ready to respond to the call to arms. In the Mexican war, a company of mounted riflemen was organized here under Captain James Gillaspie, and saw active service in the field. In the Somerville campaign of 1842, a regiment was raised in old Montgomery county, in which a number of citizens of Huntsville were enlisted. In the war between the States Huntsville and surrounding country furnished the Confederate ranks an unusually large quota of soldiers, among them men as gallant as any of those whose deeds of valor made the Southern arms immortal. The town was practically depleted of its able-bodied men. The celebrated Fourth and Fifth Regiments of Hood's Texas Brigade, who followed our matchless Lee over the blood-stained Virginia hills, contained each a company raised around Huntsville. Messrs. Hunter, Elmore, Abercrombie, Smither, Powell, Rountree, Hightower, Hamilton, Gillaspie, Farris, Branch, are some of the officers who commanded troops from this section.

In the late Spanish war, the officers and a portion of the men composing a company volunteered from Huntsville. Their services, however, were not required in the field.

Perhaps the greatest calamity from which Huntsville has suffered was the yellow fever epidemic of 1867. In a few short weeks more than one-tenth of the population perished. Families were broken up, business was paralyzed. It took more than ten years for the town to recover from the blow.

In 1871, the Houston and Great Northern Railroad, building north from Houston, reached this section, and it was confidently believed that the road would pass through Huntsville. The citizens failing to offer a sufficiently large bonus, the road was constructed so as to pass eight miles east of the town. When the people of Huntsville realized that the road had actually passed them by, they put their hands in their pockets and raised a bonus of \$90,000, which, with \$25,000 contributed by the county, was sufficient to induce the railroad magnates to build the Huntsville Tap. The arrival of the first train of cars in Huntsville, in March, 1872, was a great day for Huntsville. It was celebrated by a grand barbecue and speech-making, at which an immense crowd was present.

In 1879, the Legislature of Texas decided to establish a State normal school. A committee of citizens visited Austin, offered the old Austin College building to the State, and urged the location of the normal school at Huntsville, as a lasting monument to the hero whose unmarked grave is here. Their efforts were successful, and the first session of the Sam Houston Normal School opened in 1879, with Bernard Mallon as principal. Additional buildings were subsequently erected by legislative appropriations, and the institution has continued to grow in popularity and influence, until it is now recognized as a factor second to none in the educational development of the State.

With the year 1880, the historic period of Huntsville may be said to have closed. Since that time, modern ways and city airs have gradually taken hold of and revolutionized the old town. A new graded school building, new churches, a new court house, new stores, handsome residences, an ice factory, electric light plant, telephone system, and other evidences of twentieth century civilization are now found where sixty-four years ago the wind sighed through the pine trees that surrounded the trading post of Pleasant Gray.

Yet with what sadness may we imagine that the water-sprite who presides over the ancient and now deserted spring which first attracted the founder of Huntsville to the site of the future town, must contemplate the past history of her beloved fountain. In the ages ago, when majestic forest trees shielded its limpid waters from the noonday heat, the wild deer loved here to slake his thirst. Upon its surface the night fires of the Indian hunter, year after year, cast their red and flickering gleam. Then one day the crack of a rifle disturbed its peaceful shades, and heralded the coming of the white man. Still the Genius of the spring found solace for the loss of its sylvan stillness in the thought of its increased importance, as tired horses and thirsty oxen thrust their panting jaws into the cool depths of the trough into which its crystal water rippled; horny-handed and brawny-muscled teamsters here bathed their hot and dusty faces; while bare-footed boys and girls carried buckets full of the precious liquid to their near-by homes. But there came a day when all this was changed. Within a few feet of the spring that once had supplied the infant village with water, an artesian well was sunk, which became the source of supply of the city waterworks system. The watering trough at the spring was no longer needed and

fell into decay. The spring itself was planked over and hidden from view. The cold glare of a neighboring street electric light now overpowers the soft rays of the moon, as night after night they lovingly search for their friend of by-gone years; and the steady puff of the great engines of the waterworks system drowns the song of the mocking bird and whippoorwill, whose musical notes once mingled in exquisite melody with the ripple of the waters of the fountain. Thus is Beauty ever slain by Utility!

A CONVERSATION WITH GOVERNOR HOUSTON.

JOHN H. REAGAN.

In the latter part of February, 1861, I left my seat in the Congress of the United States, because I felt that I could no longer retain it with self-respect. I had up to that time opposed the idea of a dissolution of the Union, but the Republican majority had rejected many propositions for a compromise, by which it was hoped the Union might be preserved, and received all such suggestions for compromise with expression of derision, and gave the Southern members to understand that they were in the majority and would settle all matters in their own way.

When I reached New Orleans on my way home, I there learned that I had been elected a member of the constitutional convention of Texas, though I had not been a candidate. Instead of going directly to my home in Eastern Texas, I went directly to Austin, Texas, where the convention had met, arriving there on the morning of the third day of its session.

At the breakfast table at the hotel, on the morning of my arrival, I met quite a number of the delegates to the convention, and inquired of them whether any effort had been made to secure the co-operation of the State government with the convention. General Houston was then Governor, and was an avowed Union man. The delegates to whom I mentioned the matter advised me that no effort in that direction had been made; that they feared an offensive reception if they attempted to approach him on this subject.

I felt the great importance and necessity of securing the co-operation of the State government with the convention, in a matter of so great moment to the people of Texas and of the Southern States as the consideration of the question of dissolving our relations with the Federal government, and determined to see the Governor on this subject. Soon after breakfast I went to his office and found him there. I stated to him that I had called on him for a conference about a matter of great moment. He soon disposed of some routine business, and invited me into an adjoining room. I inquired of

him if anything had been said to him about the co-operation of the State government with the constitutional convention. He answered that no one had spoken to him on that subject. I told him that was what I had come to talk with him about, to which he said, "You know I am opposed to secession." I answered that I was aware of that, and stated that this matter had reached a point which involved the future of the States, and had passed beyond the consideration of individual interests; that he had long been recognized in Texas and in the South as one of the leaders of public opinion; that the people recognized his conservatism and the importance of his co-operation with them, and I expressed the hope that they might secure it. He said he had been born and reared in the South, had received all his honors from the South, and that he would not draw his sword against his own people. He continued: "Our people are going to war to perpetuate slavery, and the first gun fired in the war will be the knell of slavery." I said to him that many people thought that if the South should show a united front, and readiness to maintain their position, this might induce the manufacturing and commercial interests of the North, and of Europe, and especially of Great Britain, to interpose their good offices for peace, and so avert an armed conflict. He said that this was a great mistake; that Great Britain had for forty years pursued a policy favoring the dissolution of the American Union; that she had two controlling reasons for pursuing this policy: one, her hostility to our free republican system of government, and the other to see our cotton industry interrupted by war until she could build up her cotton interests in India and thus be relieved of her dependency on the United States for cotton. He also said that France was still more hostile to our system of government than Great Britain, and desired a war here to give her time to build up her cotton interests in Algeria; and that neither of these governments would do anything to prevent a war among us. And he said that when hostilities were commenced that the people of the North would subordinate the manufacturing and commercial interests to their passion, and would not attempt to prevent a war.

On my renewing the question about the co-operation of the State government with the convention he said nothing had been done by the convention to that end. I then asked him if a committee from

the convention should call on him if he would meet it in a friendly spirit, to which he answered that he would.

I went from his office to the hall of the convention and at once submitted a motion that a committee be appointed to wait on the Governor with a view of securing the joint action of the State government with the convention, which was adopted, and the president of the convention appointed a committee of five for that purpose, consisting of myself, Hon. Peter W. Gray, Col. Wm. P. Rogers, Colonel Still, and one other whose name I do not recall.

This committee called on the Governor that day at his office, and had a free, friendly conference with him, and were invited by him to the Governor's Mansion that evening and had another conference of some duration, but not ending in a formal agreement of co-operation.

Before leaving him he told us that if the Committee on Public Safety would call on him he could give them some information which might be serviceable to them. I communicated this information to Judge John C. Robertson, the chairman of that committee, and that committee also conferred with the Governor. I was not advised as to what occurred in that conference, but immediately afterwards the late General Ben McCulloch and others went to San Antonio and demanded and received the surrender of the Federal soldiers there, and took possession of their arms and supplies.

During the war I had occasion at different times to call the attention of President Davis and his cabinet to what Governor Houston had said about the English and French governments. I did this because of the noticeable fact that when the Confederate armies obtained a victory the British organs of public opinion encouraged the Federals, and when the Federal armies obtained a victory the same newspapers encouraged the Confederates.

I have often regretted that I neglected to write down the substance of the conversation between Governor Houston and myself when it was fresh in my memory, for it impressed me then, as it has ever since, as indicating his prophetic insight as to coming events.

The foregoing statement, while not as full as it might have been made at the time and without pretending to use the language then employed, does give an imperfect outline of what occurred.

## NOTICES AND REVIEWS.

The Land of Sunshine is printing under the title *Pioneers of the Far West* a series of documents never before published in English which are of special value for Southwestern history. The list thus far includes the fac-simile and translation of the *Reglamento* for California (1781), in numbers Jan.-May, 1897; translation and original of *Testimonio* on the first Comanche raid (1748), Jan.-Feb., 1898; and translations of the Report on California of Viceroy Revilla Gigedo, June-Oct., 1899; the *Relacion* of Zárate-Salmeron, Nov., 1899-Feb., 1900; and the letter of Escalante, Mar.-Apr., 1900. Such work entitles Mr. Lummis to the hearty gratitude of students in this line.

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The publications of the Southern History Association are now issued bi-monthly. The January number is made up mainly of *Reviews and Notices* and *Notes and Queries*. It contains a short article by Dr. J. L. M. Curry entitled *Washington and the Constitution*; some letters from Andrew R. Govan, member of Congress from South Carolina, 1822-27, contributed, with explanatory remarks, by A. S. Salley, Jr.; and *The Revolutionary War in North Carolina*, a narrative of the boyhood experience of John Hodges Drake, written down in his old age, and contributed, with an explanatory statement, by Mrs. P. H. Mell, of Auburn, Ala. The leading articles of the March number are *Why the Confederacy had no Supreme Court*, by Bradley T. Johnson, John V. Wright, J. A. Orr, and L. Q. Washington; *The Texas Frontier, 1820-25*, by Lester G. Bugbee; and *A Baptist Appeal*, a document contributed by Dr. J. L. M. Curry.

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The leading articles of the American Historical Review for January are *Some Curious Colonial Remedies*, by Edward Eggleston; *Maryland's Adoption of the Federal Constitution, II*, by Bernard C. Steiner; *Contemporary Opinion of the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions, II*, by Frank M. Anderson; *The Rise and Fall of the Nominating Caucus, Legislative and Congressional*, by M. Ostrogorski. The documents include certain records relative to the serv-



ice of Cartwright and Melville as teachers at the University of Geneva, printed with notes, from the advance sheets of a history of that university, by Professor Charles Borgeaud, together with explanatory additions by the author; and the *Journal of Philip Fithian, Kept at Nomini Hall, Virginia, 1773-1774*, with an introduction by John Rogers Williams.

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*Six Decades in Texas, or Memoirs of Francis Richard Lubbock, Governor of Texas in War-Time, 1861-63; a Personal Experience in Business, War, and Politics.* Edited by C. W. Raines. Austin: Ben C. Jones & Co. 1900. Pp. xvi+685.

While attending the District Court of La Salle county, at Cotulla, in 1888, I met an old frontiersman, who inquired after Lubbock's health, etc. In speaking of him he said he knew him as comptroller, district clerk, lieutenant-governor, governor during the war, colonel in the army, staff officer of President Davis, and auctioneer and commission merchant; and that in every position he was always faithful and zealous. He said that he happened to be in Galveston after the war, while Governor Lubbock was in the business of auctioneer and commission merchant, and having some curiosity to see how he played the role of auctioneer he went around to his establishment and found him expatiating upon the virtues of a promissory note which he was offering for sale to the highest bidder. One of the greatest merits the note had in his mind was its signature. Passing it around through the crowd, he explained how celebrated forgers signed their names; how shrewd fellows who never intended to pay, arranged their signatures—calling attention to the fact that nobody but an honest horny-handed son of toil could have made such a signature—interspersing his remarks with various historical references, until, when the note was finally bid off, it brought nearly par. He said he had heard him on the stump in Know-Nothing times—had heard him discuss the Kansas-Nebraska bill, squatter sovereignty, and most of the leading issues of *ante bellum* times; but never heard him deliver a more entertaining speech than when he made this note the subject on that occasion. The same resourceful characteristics which made this promissory note a fruitful and interesting theme, has given us a book on weightier matters, instructive and entertaining to the highest degree.

An active career as merchant, comptroller, clerk of the Harris county district court, ranchman, farmer, lieutenant-governor, governor in the most trying time of our State's existence, colonel in the army, staff officer of Jefferson Davis, prisoner, auctioneer, commission merchant, collector of taxes, State treasurer, member of Penitentiary Board and later of the Board of Pardons has brought him in close contact with almost every phase of life in Texas from 1836 to 1900.

The great charm of his conversational powers, his wonderful memory, his charity for all and malice toward none have all been transferred to the pages of this book and made almost every line of it attractive and entertaining, as well as instructive.

Its value, as a contribution to the history of Texas, consists mainly in the elaborate background to the bare historical picture furnished by others, yet there is enough new historic material to make it exceedingly valuable for that alone.

It seems to be a complete history of politics, politicians, and statesmen in Texas; and, what is surprising in a closely printed book of nearly 700 pages by a most pronounced democrat of the extreme school, there is no uncharitable insinuation or unkind allusion towards any foe, or to any tenet opposed to his own. There is no deification or disparagement of men, and no dogmatic treatment of the measures, which divided the public men of Texas into hostile camps from 1836 to 1896. Public policies, political platforms, and all issues concurrent with the development of Texas, from an infant Republic with a population a little more than 30,000 into an imperial State with a population of over 3,000,000, are clearly and frankly stated.

It will be a valuable legacy to future generations who will learn to love and honor the men who have directed her destinies through so many dark and perilous times.

Z. T. FULMORE.

## NOTES AND FRAGMENTS.

On page 226, of the QUARTERLY, I. J. Cox states: "He is also to hasten the erection of the parish church. It is interesting to note that the cornerstone of this edifice was not laid until 1744."

This writer, like so many others, makes the mistake of confounding the church of *San Antonio* (the Alamo) with the parish church of San Antonio, *San Fernando*.

The cornerstone of San Antonio de Valero was laid on the 8th of May, 1744.

The cornerstone of San Fernando was laid on the 11th of May, 1738, and the church was blessed on the 6th of November, 1749.

Both entries are found in the old records.

EDMOND J. P. SCHMITT.

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Andrew Jackson Berry,

Born May 16, 1816.

Died July 31, 1899.

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Noah Smithwick,

Born January 1, 1808.

Died October 21, 1899.

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## AFFAIRS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

The reprints of the journal of Moses Austin, which appears in the April number of the *American Historical Review*, have been distributed to the members of the Association. There were not quite enough of the reprints to supply all members, so a few of those who have joined lately have not received them. They were sent, of course, to the older members first.

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It becomes necessary to purge the list of members to some extent. Those who are far in arrears with their dues, of whom there are fortunately not a great many, need not expect to receive the *QUARTERLY* after this number. The member that does not pay is as expensive as one that does; and the Association, for economy's sake, will be forced to exclude those who show a disposition to join permanently the class of non-payers.

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 THE MIDWINTER MEETING.

The midwinter meeting of the Association was held at Huntsville, January 9th and 10th. Visiting members were entertained by the citizens of Huntsville, and the guests on that occasion will not soon forget the hospitality of their hosts. In spite of the weather, which was characterized by a heavy and almost continuous down-pour of rain during the forenoon of the first day, the meeting was greatly enjoyed by those present. The sessions were held at the Sam Houston Normal Institute, and the interest displayed by the faculty and students of the Institute entitles them to the hearty gratitude of the Association.

The program included the following papers:

The Closing Hours of the Confederacy.....John H. Reagan.  
 What the Texas Teacher can do for Texas History.....  
 .....Mrs. Percy V. Pennybacker.  
 Another Texas Flag.....George P. Garrison.  
 The Old Town of Huntsville.....Harry F. Estill.  
 The Neglected Graves of our Heroes.....Rufus C. Burleson.

These papers were all read with the exception of that by Judge Reagan, who was unavoidably absent. One of them appeared in the January QUARTERLY, and another is printed in this number.

At the business meeting the following resolution, recommended by the Council at the annual meeting in June, 1899, but through an oversight not presented for a vote to the Association, was adopted:

*Resolved*, That the work of Mrs. Margaret Hadley Foster in the *Houston Post* in rousing an interest in Texas history among the children of the State is highly commended by the Association.

A large number of new names was added to the list of members.

By vote of the Fellows present, the following were elected to Fellowship: Mrs. Adèle B. Looscan, Houston; Judge O. W. Williams, Fort Stockton; Rudolph Kleberg, Jr., Brownsville.





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